HOLIDAY BUYING SERVICE SPECIALS: FOUR PAGES OF SUPERB VALUES . . . 7-10

NATIONAL
GUARDIAN
the progressive newsweekly

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VOL. 13, NO. 6 NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 21, 1960

. . . NOR SO WIDE AS A CHURCH DOOR . . .
But the opening was enough for the Democratic donkey to squeeze through. And the Church was a most significant factor at that (see right).

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

How Kennedy won, why it was tight, and the road ahead

By James Aronson

THE STATISTICS of the 1960 Presidential election disclose that more Americans voted than ever before—the total will be about 68,000,000 when the final count is in—and that the percentage of voters—63 per cent—was higher than at any time since 1920, topping the previous peak of 62.7 per cent in 1952 when Dwight D. Eisenhower was first elected.

The popular vote was also one of the most evenly-divided in history. As the GUARDIAN went to press it stood:

Kennedy	33,834,392
Nixon	33,443,168

Vice President Nixon took 26 states and Senator Kennedy 23; Mississippi voted in eight unpledged electors. Kennedy had 332 electoral votes, Nixon 191.

Thus John Fitzgerald Kennedy at 43 will become President of the United States on Jan. 20, 1961, the first Catholic ever to hold the office.

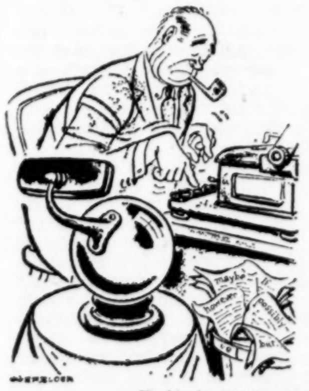
HOW IT DIVIDED: The less than half of one per cent which separates the candidates indicates that the country split right down the middle as far as popular preference was concerned: Kennedy took all six Middle Atlantic states; split New England's six states with Nixon; took most of the South (the Republicans won in Virginia, Tennessee and Florida) and a few scattered states; lost most of the mountain and plains states and Washington and Oregon on the West Coast. If the voting pattern generally broke into urban and rural sectionalism, there were some questions:

Why, for example, did Kennedy win in Pennsylvania and lose in Ohio, which has similar population pattern and problems? The answer here probably lies in better campaign organization. Why did Nixon win in Oklahoma and lose in the Carolinas, where fundamentalist anti-Catholicism is equally high? Here again the answer may be the same.

THE REASONS WHY: But these questions were far overshadowed by the reasons for the Kennedy triumph. Chief among them were these:

- **The Catholic vote.** Even as the Senator was hurt by anti-Catholic sentiment in the Middle West and in parts of the South, he picked up tremendous strength in Catholic areas in the industrial North and Middle Atlantic. This was the foundation of his victory.
- **The Negro vote.** GOP chairman Thruston Morton estimated that Nixon got only about 10 to 12 per cent of the Negro vote, while President Eisenhower got about 26 per cent in 1956.
- **The liberal-progressive vote.** Despite a considerable distaste for the choice of Kennedy, and certainly for Senator John-

(Continued on Page 3)



Herblock, Washington Post
"The outcome was, of course, inevitable . . ."

BAD DAY FOR LIBERALS AND LABOR

Conservatives riding high after Congressional election

By Robert E. Light

WHILE LIBERALS and progressives wrestled with their consciences over the Presidential contest, the conservatives-reactionaries stole a march on Congress. Although the Democrats retained commanding majorities in both houses, measuring Congress as liberals vs. conservatives, the liberals lost ground. The coalition of reactionary Republicans and Southern Democrats, which has thwarted social legislation for 15 years, will be back in the saddle in both Houses with less opposition.

Many of the House candidates backed by unions or singled out for attention by liberal groups, including the GUARDIAN, were defeated. Each lost for a variety of private reasons. Some were beaten by the "soft on communism" charge; Catholics in the Midwest lost on the religious issue; some were swept aside by a tide for the Presidential candidate of the other party; and some lost on local issues. Each could have used more active support from the liberal community.

MEYER & JOHNSON OUT: Of the 28 incumbent Congressmen noted by the GUARDIAN (Oct. 10) because they had "indicated a break away, however small, from the all-out cold war policies of the major parties," ten were defeated. These included: George A. Kasem (Calif.), Byron L. Johnson (Colo.), Randall S. Harmon (Ind.), Leonard G. Wolf (Ia.), Roy W. Weir (Minn.), John R. Foley (Md.), Robert W. Levering (O.), Charles O. Porter (Ore.), William H. Meyer (Vt.), and

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THE ISSUE IS A NATION'S RIGHT TO FREEDOM

The Congo: The veil of confusion is torn aside

By Kumar Goshal

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

ANOTHER BITTER DEBATE on the Congo in the UN General Assembly seemed inevitable as the nine-member UN Credentials Committee on Nov. 10 recommended that the Assembly approve the seating of a Congolese delegation headed by President Joseph Kasavubu.

Costa Rica, Haiti, New Zealand, the Philippines and Spain voted for the U.S. resolution supporting the Kasavubu delegation; the Soviet Union opposed it, and Morocco and the United Arab Republic declined to participate on the ground that the Assembly the day before had voted in favor of Ghana's proposal to adjourn debate on the Congo question indefinitely.

ISSUE REOPENED: On Sept. 14 the UN Security Council refused to seat either of the two delegations from the Congo: one sent by Premier Patrice Lumumba with Cabinet approval and headed by Thomas Kanza; the other sent by Kasavubu and headed by Justin Bomboko. Most Afro-Asians supported the first delegation; the U.S. and other NATO allies of Belgium favored the second. Both delegations cooled their heels as the Congo remained in turmoil.

Two weeks ago the Afro-Asians reopened the credentials issue after UN Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold agreed to send to the Congo a commission of reconciliation comprising the Asian and African members of his Advisory Committee; on Nov. 4 he made public a report by the Indian diplomat Rajeswar Dayal, Hammarskjold's personal representative to the Congo.

Dayal's report bluntly accused the Belgians of trying to reassert control over the Congo, of fomenting internal strife and setting up puppet regimes, as in the secessionist Katanga province. (For excerpts from the report, see the GUARDIAN, Nov. 14). The report called the present pro-West Congolese "strong man" Col. Mobutu a "usurper" and criticized the regime he had arbitrarily set up for "inefficiency" and "susceptibility to outside [Belgian] influence." The solution,

(Continued on Page 14)

THE MAIL BAG

I. V. League

ROSEMEAD, CALIF.

A bunch of us who packed into the High Sierras for two wonderful weeks at an altitude of 10,700 feet sat around camp one day discussing the plight of the American people. After some good healthy discussion we decided to launch our own I.V. League—"Independent Voters League."

We know we must have a party for labor, the Negro people, the youth, the small farmer, the independent voter, etc., etc., who really have no place to go and are doomed in the two capitalist parties.

We felt the "I. V. League" would be a catchy, American name and would tend to draw the independent voter besides all the others mentioned toward its banner. We also feel unequivocally that the I. V. League should project a minimum program of socialism. It should be a party of principle and progress. And most important, we repeat, something should be started soon.

This is the skeleton of an idea. Perhaps someone else can supply the flesh.

Rosemead Friends

William H. Miller

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

It has been most difficult for me to answer the many hundreds of letters I received expressing sympathy on the untimely death on Aug. 12 of my husband, William H. Miller. Therefore, I have asked the GUARDIAN to help me to reach all of our wonderful friends who knew and loved Bill, so that I can express my sincerest gratitude for your warmth and comfort.

This has been a most trying period for me and my children, yet I realize that not only is the loss of Bill irreplaceable to us, but to so many thousands of people with whom Bill worked—from his early days as a young attorney defending civil rights and civil liberties, in the American Labor Party, as a union organizer, as political organizer and leader in Illinois, and in his final years in private industry where his unusual gift for organization was recognized. Bill carried his philosophy to the very end of his life. To him, the dignity of a human being was paramount. Anything that raised human dignity, he supported. Any action that tended to reduce or destroy human dignity, met his opposition.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

What is not generally realized about Federal Income Tax is that this system was devised in 1848 by Karl Marx, and set forth in "Communist Manifesto" for the self-destruction of America.

—Tennessee **Market Bulletin**, Oct., quoting the Tennessee **Granger**

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: E. S., Erwin, Tenn.

William Sennett of Los Angeles in his very beautiful eulogy said of Bill:

"His concern for a peaceful world, his progressive outlook and goals, his leadership and organizational achievements are major contributions to the security and democracy of our country. They constitute a legacy to his family and all those privileged to know him."

So many people have written to me asking how they could help. I know Bill would have wanted me to answer that one of the most effective expressions of your sympathy can be a contribution to the NATIONAL GUARDIAN, the only voice in the wilderness that cries out for justice.

With a deep love for all of our friends throughout the country, and with the hope for a future world of peace and progress.

Ruth L. Miller

Ray Kellog

PITTSBURGH, PA.

We at Action For Human Welfare have lost our beloved editor, Ray S. Kellogg. He passed away on August 26, 1960.

His one desire was to serve humanity by helping people think more clearly and believe more firmly and courageously. He worked neither for personal gain nor glory but with the hope that his writing would awaken idealism, pierce through smugness and rouse people from their inertia. Our loss is great for we need such people more than ever now.

Julianne Carra, co-editor
P.O. Box 8747

The other side

BERLIN, GERMANY

Your admirable "Report to Readers: World of Misinformation" in the GUARDIAN of Sept. 26 pointed out what a one-sided picture of the world most of the U.S. press gives. From here in Berlin, capital of the German Democratic Republic, I would like to add a word of praise on the fine job of adjusting the balance you are doing in your columns.

Since Germany is so much in the news, and likely to remain there, GUARDIAN readers might like to know of a newspaper which gives the other side of the German question. This is **German Report**, which I publish every two weeks in East Berlin. I would be glad to send free copies and details of how to subscribe to any GUARDIAN reader who writes me.

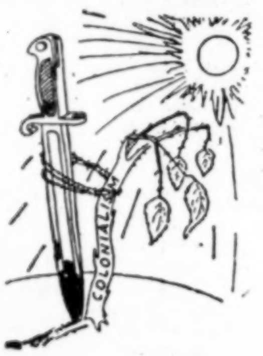
John Peet
167 Friedrichstrasse
Berlin W 8, Germany

For Arab independence

CLEVELAND, OHIO

As an Iraqi first and an Arab second, I really appreciate the way you deal with my people in the Arab countries who have been fighting for years for national independence, peace and democracy. The way your paper deals with our problems is deeply appreciated, especially the Algerian problem and that of the Gulf nations.

Mohamad Z. Abdul-Rahman



Defense of Cuba

STANFORD, CALIF.

The Committee to Defend the Cuban Revolution is emphatically opposed to any attempts by the U.S. government to intervene either directly or indirectly against the revolutionary government in Cuba. We recognize the right of the people of Cuba to determine their own destiny and to develop their own political, economic and social institutions.

We appeal to the people of Cuba to understand that there are many Americans who aspire to social justice and peace and who do not approve of the present foreign policy of the U.S. government.

If interested in the work of the Committee, or if you would like to help, please contact me.

Lawrence L. Shumm
Comm. to Defend the
Cuban Revolution,
Box 7064

Napper Tandy

WILBERFORCE, OHIO

In the article "A Believer . . . etc?" on page 9 of the Oct. 10 GUARDIAN, the remarks about a history of "Napper Landy" should have undoubtedly been about Napper Tandy, an Irish reformer a couple of hundred years ago. If anyone has a history of him, I am interested.

W. Lou Tandy
Central State College

Russian for English

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

I am a Russian-speaking woman and would like to exchange lessons in English conversation and vocabulary for advanced or beginning Russian with congenial people living in or near Brighton Beach.

L. Drabkin
3061 Brighton 6th St.

A must

MONTICELLO, N.M.

We are old and poor, but we can't get along without the GUARDIAN.

Mr. & Mrs. H. D. Hart

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

PRIME MINISTER CLEMENT ATTLEE of Britain had done his best to make the second World Peace Congress impossible. As the New York **Times** put it, begging pardon for "chuckling": "He temporized, refused a great many visas, granted others, and then kept the recipients out of the country and generally held his fire until it was too late to have the congress call it off."

The **Times** chuckled too soon. On Thursday night the congress officially opened in Warsaw, with more than 2,000 delegates from 70 countries in attendance. The Polish government had opened its borders wide, required no visas, asked no questions. It made available two ships and special trains to bring the delegates in.

The Czech airlines, with cooperation from other European lines, set up special airlifts from London, Paris and Brussels. One of Warsaw's newest and finest buildings was provided for the congress. The entire city was decorated in gala fashion. Delegates were greeted by 10,000 students who marched to the main railway station; girls handed bouquets to the arriving delegates; army bands played; a special arch decorated with the flags of many nations led into the city; all taxicabs bore peace stickers on their windshields.

In Britain public opinion on all levels was outraged by Attlee's performance. Arch-Tory Winston Churchill complained in Commons that it had "laid us open to much abuse." Labor MP Sir Richard Acland charged in Commons that 33 Americans, including Dr. Willard Uphaus, head of the Natl. Religion and Labor Foundation of New Haven, Conn., had been detained incommunicado at a British airport and questioned for five hours before being expelled from the country.

—From the National Guardian, Nov. 22, 1950

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CEDRIC BELFRAGE *Editor-in-exile* JOHN T. McMANUS *General Manager* JAMES ARONSON *Editor*

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Vol. 13, No. 6 401 November 21, 1960

REPORT TO READERS

Exhilarating evening

JOYOUS, COLORFUL, eventful, soul-satisfying—and packed to the doors: in a nutshell, that's the story of the GUARDIAN's Twelfth Anniversary dinner Nov. 11 at New York's Hotel Roosevelt. One guest who couldn't resist that impulse, sat down the morning after and wrote us a letter which surely speaks for all who were there:

> "Seldom have I experienced the exhilaration I felt last night. Not only the large numbers of old friends who have never ceased to support the GUARDIAN, but representatives from the most vital parts of the globe, east and west, were an inspiration. They served as a reminder that the ideas we cherish—peace, freedom and liberty—are a dynamic force in the world today. Again, Happy Birthday, and many more!"

WHAT EXHILARATES WHO during an evening like our Twelfth Anniversary celebration is difficult to specify, so perhaps we should try to recapture the setting for you. Our senior dais guest was Dr. William E. Burghardt DuBois, a founder of the Pan-African movement and thus the spiritual father of the new African nations now peopling the United Nations. Dr. DuBois, with his author-wife, Shirley Graham (also a guest of honor), were leaving next morning for Africa to participate in the installation of the first African Governor-General of the Federation of Nigeria. So on the dais as a kind of honor guard for the Du Bois' were Their Excellencies Ambassador Wachuku of Nigeria and Ambassador Nketsia of Ghana, heads of their UN delegations in New York; and Mrs. Susana Al-Hassan, one of the ten women members of Ghana's Parliament.

Also among the dais guests were a representative of Cuba's July 26th Movement; a Southern youth who spent ten days in a Miami jail as one of the sit-in demonstrators; and Henry Abrams of New York, the man who ran the monster Madison Square Garden meeting of the Sane Nuclear Policy Committee last May and was consequently the first of the group to come under attack from Senator Dodd and the Eastland Committee. Mrs. Ola Uphaus brought greetings from her husband, Willard, due to be released next month after a year in prison at Boscawen, N. H., for defying the N.H. witchhunt. (On Nov. 14, the U.S. Supreme Court dismissed his appeal from the sentence, but his release will not be affected.)

AFTER FEASTING on the unique eminence of the dais (which included also Mrs. Vivian Hallinan and those workaday eminences from the GUARDIAN, Jim Aronson, John McManus and Kumar Goshal) the people heard two truly tremendous addresses, the first by the Rev. Milton A. Galamison of New York's Siloam Presbyterian Church, largest in the Brooklyn-Nassau Presbytery; and the concluding one by the youthful Chief Minister of British Guiana, Dr. Cheddi Jagan.

The Rev. Mr. Galamison has been an outspoken leader in the struggle in New York to achieve integration in the public schools despite the segregated housing pattern of the city. His address told of this struggle, which has been won in principle but still needs a lot of practice; and he then gave the audience something to think about in the field of world relations—the deleterious effect our country's pattern of segregation has had in producing leadership unfit by any experience in their own lives to deal with peoples of other races in world affairs.

Dr. Jagan's address was a penetrating analysis of colonialism and imperialism in our hemisphere, specifically as they affect his own country, a British Crown Colony in the heart of Latin America; and generally as they affect the whole changing social and economic picture of South and Central American and the Caribbean islands.

Dr. Jagan, while in New York, deposited with the United Nations a petition for independence for his country from British rule. In subsequent issues of the GUARDIAN we plan to publish the addresses of Dr. Jagan and Rev. Mr. Galamison.

FINALLY, editor Jim Aronson gave the audience an inside story of interest to all GUARDIAN readers:

As of Dec. 1, our Editor-in-Exile Cedric Belfrage will leave London to become Our Man in Havana, and our roving reporter throughout Latin America. He will be in Havana to greet the GUARDIAN's Cuba Tour at Christmas time.

And that just about topped the good tidings of our Twelfth Anniversary celebration. Now, on to the Lucky Thirteenth!

—THE GUARDIAN

The Presidential election: How Kennedy won it and why it was so close

(Continued from Page 1)

son as his running mate, most liberals and progressives, hesitant till the last moment, finally abandoned the neither-nor inclination and voted for Kennedy in the hope-against-hope that he would restore the tradition of the New Deal.

- **The distaste for Nixon.** The liberal vote represented not so much a pro-Kennedy vote as a determined anti-Nixon vote. For most thinking liberals, the image of the Nixon as the pursuer of Alger Hiss and the buddy of Joe McCarthy was too much. In the television debates (in which Kennedy clearly did better) even the pancake makeup could not camouflage the baleful Nixon image; and his contrived speeches and theatrical gestures did nothing to build confidence in him.

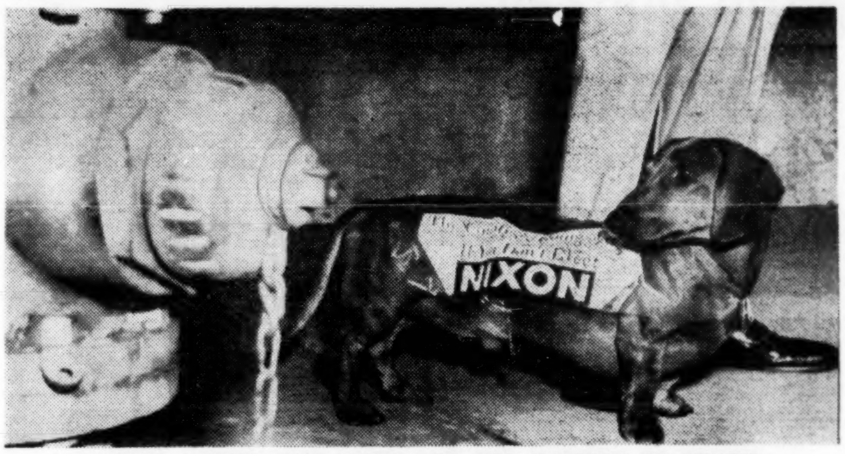
QUESTION OF MANDATE: In most of the commentaries since the election, one theme is repeated: The closeness of the vote meant that the people had given the victor no clear mandate. The comment is sound, but not because of the narrow-squeak victory: No mandate was given because neither candidate offered an alternative program on the key issues of peace, civil liberties and civil rights, and the economy. Perhaps the main reason for the close vote was that the electorate voted not on issues but on personalities, and in the last analysis found little to choose between.

The **Wall Street Journal** paid tribute to Kennedy's generalship in the campaign if not his program. They noted, as others have, that the choice of Lyndon Johnson for Vice President was a politically shrewd move, however cynical it may have been and however temporarily outraged the nation's liberals may have been. Johnson was responsible for the ticket taking Texas and holding most of the South.

There is no doubt, either, that Kennedy's intervention in the Martin Luther King case (see p. 5) turned many Negro votes in his favor, just as Nixon's significant silence (designed to woo the anti-segregationist vote) cost him plenty. Negroes—and thousands of whites in depressed areas—voted also on bread-and-butter issues, and while Kennedy hardly raised these issues in stirring fashion, the fact is that Nixon mentioned them scarcely at all. In this area, labor's hopes for a new New Deal were undoubtedly a decisive factor.

"TERRIBLE EMPTINESS": Despite all the voluminously reported squeals over Jack Kennedy's boyish charm, and Dick Nixon's all-American sincerity, neither candidate captured the imagination of the people. Great crowds came out to hear Kennedy, but there was a noticeable decline in enthusiasm as his meetings drew to their close. As for Nixon, one "conservative" told the **Wall Street Journal**: "I've been a strong Nixon man, but I believe there's a real difficulty—I can't put my finger on it—that he has trouble making people like him."

IT WAS IN THE FAMILY
Bobby Kennedy & Prexy



A NIXON CAMPAIGNER STOPS FOR THE MOMENT OF TRUTH
It's a dog's life if you haven't time to hoist one at a hydrant

For Roscoe Drummond of the Republican New York **Herald Tribune**, the campaign was a bore. He wrote (Nov. 9):

"The things that impressed me most were these: (1) The terrible emptiness of the campaign in which neither candidate dealt substantially and significantly with hardly anything. (2) The notable absence of smear tactics and abuse. (3) The almost uniform fairness of the press in giving even-handed space and prominence to both sides. There were few signs of the one-party press, from the standpoint of news objectivity, about which Adlai Stevenson used to protest—and with some justice."

The lack of abuse (read: debate) was occasioned by the fact that Nixon and Kennedy have got along fine in the Congress for 14 years, as witness Kennedy's let's-kiss-and-make-up journey from Palm Beach to Key Biscayne in Florida Nov. 14 to salute Nixon for his campaign. Nor was there any reason for the press to blank Kennedy out, since he was playing substantially the same cold war tune as Nixon. Many newspapers had a hard time making up their mind between Jack and Dick, and traditional Republicanism was the deciding factor in most cases. As for the "one-party" press, it remains basically united on foreign and domestic policy whichever party it supported.

THE CATHOLIC VOTE: Concerning the decisive Catholic vote, David Lawrence, syndicated columnist, wrote on Nov. 9:

"This correspondent last week wrote that Sen. Kennedy's election was assured by reason of a shift of about 5,000,000 Catholics from their vote four years ago for the Republican ticket to the Democratic ticket this year. The forecast was based on the results of the Gallup poll which showed that the Catholics, who had voted 51 per cent Democratic in 1956, would vote 79 per cent Democratic in 1960.

"It was easy enough to calculate the popular vote by subtracting this 5,000,000 from the Republicans and putting it in the Democratic column. Thus, in 1956 about 35,600,000 votes in all were cast for the Republican presidential nominee, who won. Taking 5,000,000 away leaves 30,600,000. By adding this to the Democratic total of about 26,000,000 of four years ago, the total this time becomes 31,000,000. And that's just about how the contest shaped up this week."

With allowance for the increase in the size of the vote, Lawrence's figures seemed an accurate projection of the result.

LABOR'S ROLE: Labor leaders expressed gratification that their efforts for Kennedy had paid off in the industrial areas, although they were aware that pay-offs in turn to the Kennedy forces in the South would limit their expectations. The AFL-CIO leadership was solid for Kennedy, but the 50-50 national vote for Kennedy and Nixon (it is actually a majority for Nixon outside the South) may cause some to question further the generally accepted statement that the working people of the nation are in the Democratic column. The open hostility to Kennedy by the independent unions—the Teamsters, the Intl. Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and the United Electrical Workers—may have produced some defections, but not enough to alter the fact that, outside the South, the national vote has been just about evenly split between Republicans and Democrats since 1948.

BUSINESS REACTION: "The only unmistakable thing about the result," said the **Wall Street Journal** (Nov. 10), "is that the people of this country are so nearly equally divided that the smallest circumstance—be it religion or a candidate's personality, or the traditional ways of a section—can alter the result by influencing a very small percentage of the total electorate."

Another indication of the twin character of the candidates was the reaction noted in Wall Street by the New York **Times financial** editor, who wrote Nov. 13: "The razor-thin victory of Kennedy failed to upset Wall Street, which was surprised only by the narrowness of the popular vote. In fact the Stock Market shortly after the results became conclusive began to move up in what was called a 'Kennedy rally.'" Wall Street, said the **Times**, "which is synonymous with Republicanism and conservatism, took the election in stride."

THE INDICATORS: It is far too early to tell what the Administration will be like. For those who hoped for a general house-cleaning in Washington, the first announcements were not encouraging:

- FBI Director Hoover and Central Intelligence Agency chief Dulles have been retained. Both expressed their "gratification" at the President-elect's confidence in them.
- Gov. Luther Hodges of North Carolina, whose term expires in January, will be the new Secretary of Commerce, according to the New York **Times.**
- It is highly unlikely, the **Times** said, that either Adlai Stevenson or Chester Bowles will be considered for Secretary of State. Rather, Stevenson will most likely be sent off to Africa and Asia on a roving assignment.
- Clark Clifford, a Washington lawyer with know-how and connections, who used to run interference for Harry Truman, has been named as Kennedy's liaison man to smooth the transition from the Eisenhower administration.
- Paul Nitze, former head of the State Department's policy and planning division under Secretary Acheson, was preparing a report on defense policy; he was working in harness with Stuart Symington, the best friend the Air Force ever had.

On the brighter side, these things happened:

- Andrew T. Hatcher, a San Francisco newspaperman, will become an assistant White House press secretary, the first Negro to serve in such a capacity.
- Gov. A. A. Ribicoff of Connecticut, a liberal, seems slated either for the Attorney General's job or for the first vacancy that will occur on the Supreme Court.
- The friendly tone of Kennedy's reply to the telegram of congratulations from Premier Khrushchev was the first sign of thaw in his campaign cold war.

CAUSE FOR DESPAIR: All in all, the only bloc which seemed genuinely excited by the Kennedy victory was the Kennedy family. Father Joe came out of hiding and the games of touch football were resumed with vigor on the lawn at Hyannis Port, with brother Jack participating.

The **Nation,** which endorsed Kennedy with "two cheers," in an editorial written before the results were in, deplored the dismal campaign but saw no cause for despair. Large organizations and vested interests, it said, are not incubators of new ideas, and particularly not in a time of political change. But by the same token, it said, the power of ideas was never greater. It went on:

"The trouble is that liberals, radicals, progressives, dissenters, et al., have not known how to exercise the power which they incontestably possess; either they have not understood it or they have defaulted. Theirs is the role of the permanent opposition, the permanent third party in continuous session. But this is not the role they play; rather they sit on the sidelines, hoping that some idealistic Knight Errant will emerge, by some miracle be nominated for the Presidency and then go on to win—thus relieving them of all direct individual responsibility. If this campaign was—and indeed it was—waged in a vacuum, it is largely because there was no effective pressure on either candidate or either party—the pressure of ideas, of new proposals, of moral standards."

THE ALTERNATIVE: In this election, which divided—and confused—the progressive-liberal forces as rarely before, there WAS pressure, however small. This pressure was exerted by progressives who advocated a real alternative program for peace in the world and rights at home, and invited the Democratic candidate to accept even the minimal bases of this program in return for their support.

Kennedy and his supporters did not see fit to accede even to this minimal request; but that fact does not in any way diminish the validity of the program or the road it points for the future: The job of building, beginning now, a political movement which will present to the American people the alternative to the cold war and the deprivation of our basic rights—an alternative which has been advocated by the hard core of progressive America since Harry Truman did the New Deal in.

Protest rallies on Election Day

IN RESPONSE to a call by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, an organization of Southern sit-in leaders, young people across the country staged Election Day protest rallies to demand action on civil rights.

In New York 450 marchers, led by Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth, Birmingham civil rights leader, marched from the Community Church, 40 E. 35 St., to Republican and Democratic campaign headquarters. At a rally before the march Rev. Shuttlesworth said: "We are walking together hand-in-hand and heart-to-heart struggling together for the dignity of man."

The White House was picketed by 24 Negro and white students and a polling place near Atlanta was picketed by 12 white Emory college students.

The youthful demonstrators demanded executive orders to declare Fayette County, Tenn., a distress area and provide help to Negroes suffering an economic boycott because they registered to vote; to bar discrimination in Federally-supported housing and employment, and to send Federal registrars, including Negroes, to assist registration in all areas where Negroes cannot vote.

THEY WATCH AND WAIT ABROAD

What the Kennedy victory means for foreign policy

JOHN F. KENNEDY's election victory seems to have evoked little excitement abroad. The general reaction was one of caution and watchful waiting.

Most foreign governments were hunting in Kennedy's campaign speeches for hints of future actions. Some have drawn encouragement from reading into his speeches ideas favorable to them which were not apparent when the speeches were made; others have been discouraged by failing to find anything which contradicted his earlier statements unfavorable to them; and one has forthrightly offered him cooperation to solve the problems of world peace.

Few hoped for basic changes in Washington's foreign policy following Kennedy's inauguration. The London **Economist** said: "What the President-elect can claim, as he does claim vehemently, is not that he will do differently but that he will do better." C. L. Sulzberger also believed (N.Y. **Times,** Nov. 7) that Kennedy's basic campaign pledge "does not aspire to alter the aims of our foreign policy, but to improve the execution of this policy." The **Economist,** however, thought that caution rather than boldness will mark the Kennedy Administration when it is in power.

Canard Enchaine, Paris

The Macmillan government in Britain, which had for better or worse tied its foreign policy to that of the U.S., was uncertain of the future. It tried to find consolation in Kennedy's vague gestures for a future summit meeting. But Prime Minister Macmillan wondered if he would be able to influence the strong-willed Kennedy as he had on occasion influenced President Eisenhower. The British, the N.Y. **Times** said (Nov. 13), were prepared for change in Washington but "whether they will like it when they get it is another matter."

DEAR PARTNER: French President de Gaulle's reaction was indicated in his brief and condescending message of congratulation: "Welcome dear partner. With my friendly congratulations, I send you, in the name of France, all my wishes for the U.S." De Gaulle is obsessed with holding Algeria and with restoring France's "grandeur" by developing its independent nuclear weapons strength and by forming a Franco - British - American directorate for NATO; he cannot forget Kennedy's criticism of French policy in Algeria three years ago, nor can he overlook the support for West German Chancellor Adenauer implied in Kennedy's determination to maintain the status quo in West Berlin.

Adenauer at first seemed saddened by Kennedy's victory, since he believed that a Nixon victory would have assured him continuation of the late John Foster Dulles' close ties with West Germany. But he has apparently been reassured by Kennedy's willingness to fight if necessary to maintain West Berlin's present status.

Latin Americans and Asians pinned more hope on Kennedy's victory — the first because Kennedy continuously stressed what he called the Republican Administration's failure "to stem the tide of communism" in Latin America, and the second because the President-elect had often spoken of "massive aid" to India to balance China's rapid industrial progress.

CROSSED FINGERS: Basically, however, the Latin Americans and Asians were hopeful because in Kennedy's highly-publicized "liberal advisers"—Stevenson, Bowles, Humphrey and others—they seemed to foresee a repetition of the Roosevelt New Deal Administration with its "good neighbor" policy. Nevertheless they were keeping their fingers crossed until they found how much influence these advisers might exert on the Kennedy Administration.

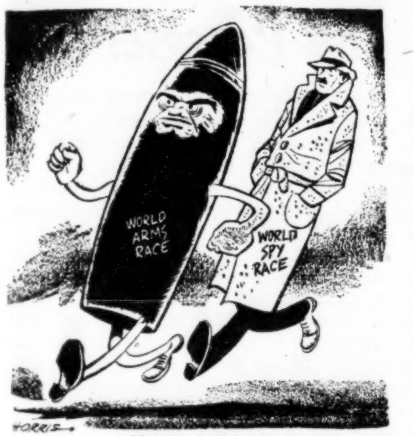
The influential Rio de Janeiro newspaper **Correio de Manha,** for instance, expressed the hope that Kennedy would not send Brazil "kindly university professors and young businessmen to give us advise" or set up more commissions to "again study the situation with immense reports about political situations and . . . on fishing and the planting of hybrid corn."

Thoughtful people everywhere were aware that the prerequisite for any constructive change in Washington's approach toward any world problem under the Kennedy Administration was a change in policy regarding nuclear test ban and disarmament, easing of international tension and East-West coexistence. For, obviously, increased U.S. military spending on more missiles, more nuclear submarines, a larger Army and more Strategic Air Command bombers on continous airborne alert could not be reconciled with genuine solutions of West European and African colonial problems and with "massive" economic aid to Latin America and Asia.

NO INSURMOUNTABLE OBSTACLES: In this field Kennedy's ideas have been singularly barren. His embracing as advisers "experts" connected with the Rockefeller and Gaither reports has seemed more significant than his far from enthusiastic acceptance of "liberal advisers." He cannot simultaneously be a Cold Warrior and a harbinger of peace and plenty.

Soviet Premier Khrushchev's message of congratulations to Kennedy was in this respect the most constructive and potentially fruitful of all messages that have poured in to the President-elect's quarters. Khrushchev said: "We hope that while you are at this post the relations between our countries would again follow the line along which they were developing in Franklin Roosevelt's time." He added:

"The destinies of world peace depend largely on the state of Soviet-American relations. We have declared and declare our respect for the peaceable and gifted people of the U.S. and we are ready to develop the most friendly relations between the Soviet and the American peoples, between the government of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. We are convinced that there are no insurmountable obstacles to the preservation and consolidation of peace . . .Any steps in this direction will always meet with the full understanding and support of the Soviet government."



Morris, Lakeland, Florida Ledger

Falling into step

It still remains to be seen whether and how soon Kennedy will take up Khrushchev's offer of negotiation. He has not thus far retreated from his "negotiation from positions of strength" attitude toward the Soviet Union. Until he softens this approach, which can only accelerate the arms race and increase international tension, he will continue to appear as the London **Daily Mirror's** columnist Cassandra views him: a prefabricated person uttering pious platitudes and distilled-water commonplaces and unexceptional inconsequences. In a more sober vein the London **New Statesman** said:

"Unless he grasps that the ending, as opposed to the winning, of the Cold War must be the prime object of U.S. policy, the elements of liberalism in his thinking will prove abortive."

Kumar Goshal to speak in Boston Nov. 20

KUMAR GOSHAL, foreign editor of the **National Guardian,** will speak on "The United Nations and World Politics" on Sunday, Nov. 20, 8 p.m., at the Community Church Hall, 565 Boylston St., Boston. His lecture is under the auspices of the Friends of the National Guardian. Admission is free.

Congress elections

(Continued from Page 1)

Gerald T. Flynn (Wis.). All are Democrats.

Meyer's chances of winning were slim. He was the first Democrat in 100 years to be sent to Congress from Vermont when he won in 1958. In this year's election, the state reverted to its Republican tradition and Meyer was caught in the sweep. He campaigned on his record and for disarmament, a nuclear test ban agreement and recognition of China. Despite a shortage of campaign funds, Meyer ran ahead of Kennedy in the state.

RED-BAITING, REACTION: Johnson and Porter were beaten by red-baiting. Johnson served one term and had a solid liberal record on social welfare and peace. Porter served two terms and had distinguished himself for opposition to Dominican President Trujillo and for support of lessening cold war tensions. He was the only Congressmen to attend the "Little Summit" conference in London with leaders and scientists from all over the world, including the U.S.S.R.

Wolf and Harmon were victims of the anti-Catholic campaign in the rural Midwest. Weir, who had been in Congress for 12 years and had an outstanding record for civil liberties, was beaten by a tough campaign financed by General Mills.

Kasem, Johnson, Wolf, Porter and Meyer were members of the Liberal Project, organized by James Warburg to stimulate independent-liberal thinking in Congress. Seven other members of the Project were reelected.

The Natl. Committee for an Effective Congress, a non-partisan liberal group, did not fare too badly in its House recommendations. Each of the four Republicans it recommended for reelection in the House won: Thomas B. Curtis (Mo.), Silvio Conte (Mass.), Florence P. Dwyer (N.J.) and James G. Fulton (Pa.). The two incumbent Democrats it endorsed were also reelected: Frank Thompson (N.J.), also noted by the GUARDIAN, and Stewart Udall (Ariz.).

But of the three non-incumbent Democrats it endorsed, only one was elected: Ralph Harding in Idaho. Mrs. Rudd Brown, granddaughter of William Jennings Bryan, was beaten in California and John Donovan lost in Maine.

Of the 337 Congressional candidates endorsed by the AFL-CIO unions, only 187 were elected. The independent Intl. Brotherhood of Teamsters, active in mass politics for the first time, endorsed 52 Congressmen because of their opposition to the Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin "labor reform" bill; 47 were reelected.

THE SENATE SHUFFLE: In the Senate contests, liberal Democratic challengers were unsuccessful in trying to unseat conservative Republicans. Robert L. Knous lost to Sen. Gordon Allott in Colorado; Frank Theis lost to Sen. Andrew Schoeppel in Kansas and George McGovern lost to Sen. Karl Mundt in South Dakota. The only incumbent to lose was J. Allen Frear (D-Del.), beaten by J. Caleb Boggs. Frear had voted against most liberal measures and was supported by DuPont interests. Most unions and liberals backed the Republican. Of 30 Senate candidates backed by AFL-CIO unions, 18 won.

WILLIAM H. MEYER

A liberal loss

Liberals won three contests and lost two to fill vacant Senate seats. In Montana, Lee Metcalf, who had a long liberal record in the House, was elected to the seat vacated by retiring Sen. James E. Murray (D.). Maurine Neuberger was chosen to fill the seat of her late husband, Richard L. Neuberger, in Oregon. Mrs. Neuberger had a liberal record in the state legislature. In Rhode Island, Democrat Claiborne Pell, who campaigned for an increased minimum wage and medical care for the aged, won the seat vacated by retiring Sen. Theodore F. Green.

But in Iowa and Wyoming conservative Republicans won. Herschel Loveless, Democratic governor of Iowa, was beaten by Jack Miller in the election for retiring Thomas E. Martin's seat. Keith Thompson, who campaigned against "welfare statism as opposed to free enterprise" defeated Democrat R. B. Whitaker for retiring Joseph C. O'Mahoney's seat in Wyoming.

20 YES, 40 NO, 40(?): The Democratic edge in the next Senate will be 64 to 36, a loss of two seats. But in the liberal vs. conservative alignment the score is much closer. There are some 20 Southern Democrats and a like number of Republicans who vote against every social measure. The solid liberal bloc, on domestic questions, is 15 to 20. The rest of the Senate does not vote consistently with either group.

The Democratic majority in the House will be 257 to 175; five contests are still undecided. The political complexion will be better than the Senate's, but the net liberal loss of 23 seats will call for deft maneuvering to pass social legislation.

UP POWELL: Southern Democrats will again control key committees in both houses, except the House Labor and Education Committee. On the basis of seniority Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) will probably get the chairmanship. There was opposition to Powell, a Negro with a pro-labor voting record, when Committee chairman Graham Barden (D-N.C.) announced his retirement some months ago and it was noted that Powell was next in line. Some Southern Democrats raised objections. AFL-CIO president George Meany deplored the pos-

(Continued on Page 5)

KENNEDY INTERVENTION FOR REV. KING SWUNG THE BALANCE

Both parties agree: Negro votes were decisive

By Joanne Grant

THE CAMPAIGN MANAGERS of both parties agreed that Sen. John F. Kennedy's victory was due in large part to the Negro vote. On the day after election, Republican campaign manager Sen. Thruston Morton said that Vice President Nixon's defeat could be explained by his failure to hold the Negro vote that went to President Eisenhower in 1956. Eisenhower had received 38% of the Negro vote; Nixon got only 20-25% according to the New York **Times.**

Robert F. Kennedy, who managed his brother's campaign, said that one of the major reasons Nixon lost was that he had failed to go after the Negro vote in industrial centers in favor of wooing Southern white support. He got neither.

Of all the complicating factors, Kennedy's well-publicized efforts to secure the release of Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. from a Georgia jail is generally credited as having swung Negroes to him. Nixon's "no comment" on the King case and his reversal of Henry Cabot Lodge's promise of a Negro in the cabinet cut his Negro vote sharply. Widespread unemployment among Negroes was also reflected in the Kennedy vote.

AN ELECTION FACTOR: THE KENNEDYS' PROTEST HELPED
Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. is greeted by his family on his release.

BALANCE OF POWER: Coming ten days before the election, the King case was just in time to influence editorial positions of Negro newspapers. On Nov. 5 James Hicks, editor of the New York **Amsterdam News,** announced his support for Kennedy saying that Kennedy's intervention showed that even if he hadn't made the phone call to Mrs. King on his own initiative at least he had Negro advisers who were astute enough to know the importance of the King case and to whom Kennedy was intelligent enough to listen. The San Francisco **Sun-Reporter** of the same date endorsed Kennedy because he "promised to use the office of President as a force of morality in the solution of the civil rights crisis."

Somewhat less than enthusiastic support for Sen. Kennedy was announced in the "Youth Editorial" of the **Sun-Reporter** which said that "most people seem to prefer Kennedy as the lesser of the two evils." Of the Republican candidate the editorial said: "Mr. Nixon, in an effort to gain minority support, appeared on television sometime ago with a Negro boy shining his shoes. The majority of Negroes neither appreciated this stunt, nor thought it humorous."

Most Negro newspapers in the weeks prior to election day carried a four-page advertising supplement of photographs of Kennedy at Negro functions under the heading: "A Leader Like Roosevelt."

Before the election the Non-partisan Crusade to Mobilize Negro Voters named ten key states with a potential Negro vote of over 3,500,000 as areas where the Negro vote could tip the scale in a close election. Of the ten states, the Negro vote was heavily Democratic in the eight states Kennedy carried.

DEMOCRATS RECOUP: In Northern cities where the vote is traditionally heavily Democratic the Kennedy ticket regained the Democratic losses of 1956 and in some cases increased its vote. New York's Harlem gave 77.7% of its vote to Kennedy. In 1956 Harlem's Democratic vote had dropped to 65% from 83% in 1952. Bronx and Brooklyn Negro districts voted 4 to 1 for Kennedy.

Unofficial return in Detroit, only major city where Negroes have consistently voted Democratic, gave Kennedy Negro districts by 10 to 1. Chicago Negroes gave 80% of their vote to Kennedy and and in Philadelphia the Democrats took 82%. In Baltimore where there had been a highly successful Negro voter registration drive adding 20,000 voters to the rolls, Kennedy received 75% of the vote. Memphis, which had an increase in Negro registration of 14,000, went to Kennedy in Negro areas by 2½ to 1.

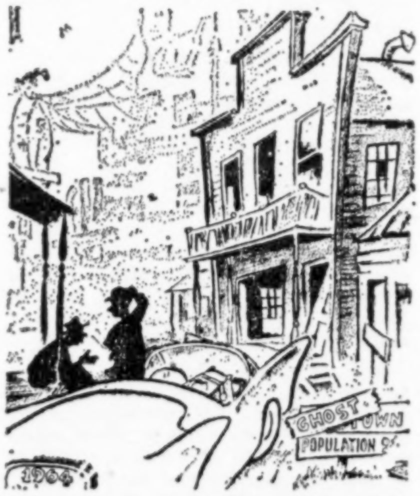
By the unofficial tally only in two Southern urban centers did the Negro vote go Republican—Atlanta, Ga., and Birmingham, Ala. Both were close votes and the Birmingham result was described (New York **Post,** Nov. 9) as a protest against the city's segregationist Police Commissioner, Bull Connor, rather than as an anti-Kennedy vote. Atlanta's Republican vote was attributed to its large middle-class Negro population.

RELIGIOUS ISSUE: In the midst of the Democratic sweep of Negro areas there were many districts in which the total Negro Democratic vote was lower than in 1956 despite higher registrations. The New York **Times** (Nov. 11) said: "This falloff was seen partly as an expression of dissatisfaction among some Negroes with both candidates and partly as a protest by some Negro Democrats against Sen. Kennedy's religion."

In the South generally, Kennedy polled more votes than any previous Presidential candidate. His success was attributed to his choice of Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson as his running mate. The New York **Herald Tribune** (Nov. 9) said that white Southerners cast Democratic votes with the hope that "Southern leadership in Congress can blunt the liberal Democratic platform."

In the last days of the campaign Nixon supporters tried lamely to woo Negro votes by running reprints of Southern advertisements for Johnson appearances which carried the white supremist white rooster emblem. The white rooster with its motto "White supremacy for the right" is the Democratic party symbol in many Southern states. As such it appears in voting booths beside the levers Negroes pulled for Kennedy.

Ironically, Rev. King, the purported cause of the huge Negro Democratic vote, was not able to cast an absentee ballot in Alabama because, election authorities said, he had not paid his poll tax.



Baldy, Atlanta Constitution
"First we closed our schools, then one thing led to another."

Congress Elections

(Continued from Page 4)

sibility because he said Powell was a "racist." No opposition to Powell has been expressed in recent weeks and he said he does not anticipate any. Southerners are not anxious to upset the seniority system.

Those who sought to predict President-elect Kennedy's chances of pushing through his domestic program were pessimistic. Kennedy's platform called for aid to the unemployed, an increased minimum wage, Federal aid to education, medical care for the aged and a strong civil rights bill.

MAURINE NEUBERGER
A liberal addition

But before the election returns were cold, Sen. George A. Smathers (D. Fla.) said that Kennedy would find the new Congress "cooperative" only if the Administration refrained from introducing " a lot of new proposals." He warned that Southern Democrats would continue to vote against bills they felt "violate a deep-felt principle." Smathers was a Senate intimate of Kennedy.

The **Wall Street Journal** said: "Certainly the Democratic liberal bloc will not be large enough to put through many of Mr. Kennedy's 'New Frontier' programs if Republicans and conservative Southern Democrats join against them. There will be strong efforts to rejuvenate that coalition. Southern Democrats in Congress . . . . supported the Kennedy-Johnson ticket reluctantly; they can be expected to oppose liberal programs at every opportunity."

RULES COMMITTEE: An indication of how vigorously Kennedy will push his domestic program will come in his handling of the House Rules Committee. Its chairman Howard W. Smith (D-N.C.) heads a reactionary clique which has pigeonholed many liberal bills. Liberals have demanded a reorganization of the committee.

The New York **Times** (Nov. 13) reported a behind-the-scenes move to replace Rep. William E. Colmer (D-Miss.) on the committee with a liberal Democrat. But the move may not be enough to swing the balance. Many of the "moderate" Democrats on the committee often vote with the reactionaries.

The **Wall Street Journal** said: "During the special session of Congress, Mr. Kennedy was assuring liberal House Democrats that, if elected, he would support their plans to clip the Rules Committee's power. With the new House less liberal than the old one, however, Mr. Kennedy now may be inclined to compromise, outwait and outmaneuver rather than attempt a frontal assault on the Rules Committee's power."

One advocate of frontal assault is I. F. Stone. In his **Weekly** he called for liberal and labor groups to organize in December a National Conference to End Minority Rule of Congress, to "focus attention on the rules which give conservatives control of both Houses."

Siqueiros is still in prison

IN ITS OCT 3 ISSUE, THE GUARDIAN published an account of the arrest and imprisonment of the noted Mexican painter, David Alfaro Siqueiros, on a charge of "tending to cause social disolution." The arrest followed a week of demonstrations by students of the Normal School in Mexico City, growing out of a dispute within the Teachers Union; but the actual reason for Siqueiros' persecution was that he took a leading part in the formation of a Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners and of Constitutional Guarantees. The Committee, composed of workers and intellectuals, was organized to protest the arrest and incarceration in barracks of more than 5,000 railway workers by the government, as well as the firing of 5,000 others.

The charge against Siqueiros carries a maximum penalty of more than seven years. He need not be granted bail, and the trial may be delayed for more than a year. In response to a letter of support from the GUARDIAN to Senora Siqueiros, we have received the following appeal from her:

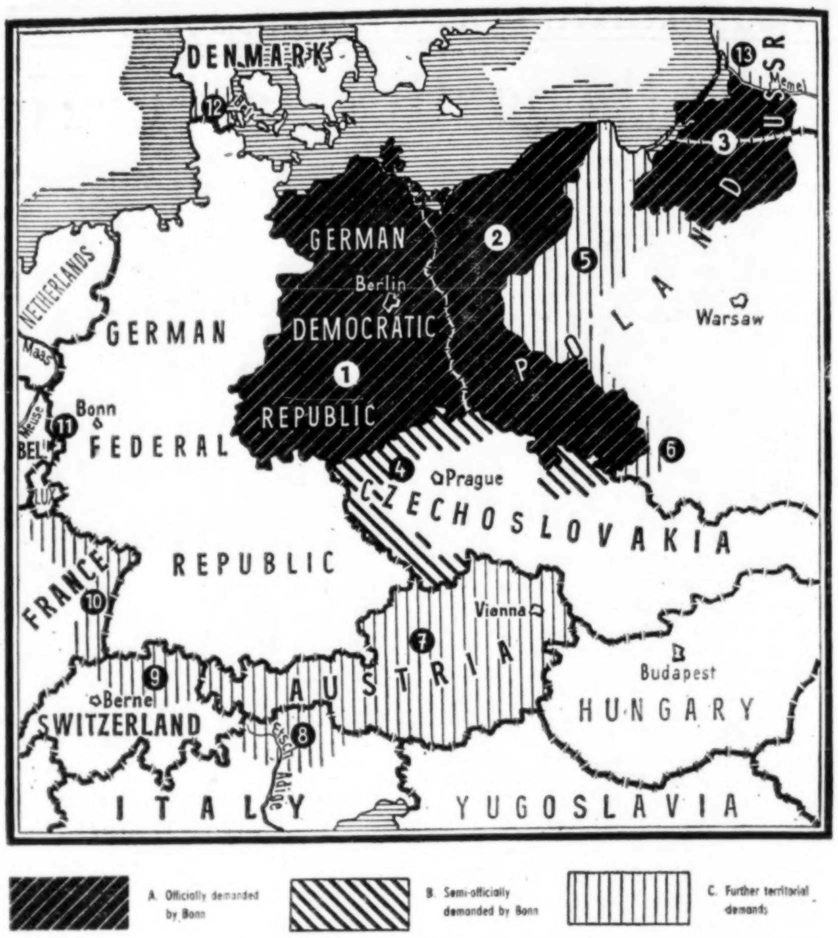
"I thank you with all my heart for your letter, together with copies of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN. Unfortunately, the matter is not yet solved. The District Attorney of Mexico City is still awaiting instructions from the President of the Republic, in order to withdraw the monstrous process. The international protest movement should be developed with greater force. We need, as soon as possible, a greater number of protests, either in cable or letter form, addressed to Sr. Adolfo López Mateos, President of Mexico, and at the same time, acts of protest at the Mexican Embassies. It would also be a great help if all this were published in the press of each country.

"The struggle for the liberty of Siqueiros means also the struggle for the freedom of our 50 political prisoners, for which this great artist and patriot had been fighting without rest for the past 18 months. With all my soul I appreciate your attention to these lines, and anxiously await further news." **Angélica A. de Siqueiros**

BONN: IT CAN HAPPEN THERE

Once again Germany barks her demands for territory

By Edith Anderson
Guardian staff correspondent



WHY, GRANDMA, WHAT A BIG APPETITE YOU HAVE!
What Bonn wants: (A) The German Democratic Republic, Western Poland, Eastern Prussia; (B) The former Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia; (C) Not pressed officially, but claimed as "all territory that was once German" or "areas where German is spoken."

BERLIN

THAT "IT CAN happen here" again was suggested in the recent near-ramming of Queen Elizabeth's plane by West German Sabre jets and the arrest recently of the first French civilian by the first German NATO troops on French soil.

Europeans have begun to be appalled at the facts and figures of West German expansionism, which can no longer be written off as a neo-Nazi minority mania. High officials of the Bonn government and certain West German newspapers have gone unrebuked after demanding the "return" of the Polish Corridor, Czech Sudetenland, Austria, the Italian Tyrol, German-speaking areas of Switzerland, Alsace Lorraine, Belgian Eupen-Malmedy, Danish Schleswig, and Lithuanian Klapeda (Memel). Chancellor Konrad Adenauer himself has made speeches (the most recent one on July 10 this year) claiming for West Germany parts of Poland and the Soviet Union, as well as the "liberation" of the German Democratic Republic.

ATOMIC ARMS: How they intend to acquire these lands is partly indicated by NATO document MC 70, which provides for equipping the Bundeswehr with 40 rocket battalions, 28 anti-aircraft battalions with 48 launching ramps per battalion, ten launching ramps for Matador missiles, an honest John rocket battalion for each division of ground forces, and a Sergeant rocket battalion for each army corps. Bonn Defense Minister Franz Josef Strauss has announced that by 1963 they plan to have a total of 1,124 atomic weapon launchers.

West Germany is the only country in Western Europe to have received an American license to manufacture the Starfighter plane, a supersonic multi-purpose craft, 600 of which are planned to form the backbone of the West German Luftwaffe. Bonn has closed a deal with the British government for a number of NA-39 bombers, which can fly with atomic bombs below radar screens.

In West Germany's "Hold Fast" war maneuvers from Sept. 20 to 24 in Schleswig-Holstein, 16 "atomic blows" were aimed at "atom-infested" territory inhabited by 500,000 persons. All this data was outlined in a warning note sent to the present UN Assembly by the government of the German Democratic Republic, and it undoubtedly represents only a fraction of the real statistics.

NEW INVASION: New Munichs are being prepared. In June the French Catholic newspaper **Le Lorrain** could still be horrified about an American military unit in Germany near the French border: "An atomic missile every 25 meters—and only 180 kilometers from Nancy. Hundreds of others that we could see. Still other hundreds that they probably did not show us . . ." But on Oct. 28 the mayor of Nancy was already announcing measures to be taken against a new Wehrmacht invasion. The 15th Panzer-Infantry Division had reached Mourmelon and immediately arrested a reporter from the Paris **L'Aurore** who approached the barracks with a news photographer.

Since 1957 the Bonn government has sunk more than two and a half billion marks in the Algerian war. Dr. Max Adenauer, son of the Chancellor, led a West German delegation to Algeria last week where informed circles said he intended to inspect the oil region of Hassi-Messaoud and Hassi R'nel in the Sahara. More than 8,000 West German soldiers have died there in the French Foreign Legion.

Bonn expresses its aggressive intentions in many forms on every possible occasion. At the Tunis Fair recently the West German pavilion handed out maps that showed its expansionist claims in Europe. Practically every weekend West German Transport Minister Hans Christoph Seebohm makes a speech demanding the Sudetenland.

MISCHIEF-MAKER: Mayor Willy Brandt of West Berlin went visiting in supposedly neutral Austria recently where he propagandized with impunity for West Berlin's role as a "mischief-maker" (his own proud word) and intervened successfully against a scheduled speech of Albert Norden, East German politburo member, who had been invited to a joint Communist-Socialist mass meeting in Vienna.

This sort of behavior by West Germany's representatives abroad (Brandt is being spoken of as the next Chancellor) is quite usual, and is not resisted as much as it is resented. No country can discuss an exchange of ambassadors, consuls or trade missions with East Germany without receiving a prompt protest and threats of economic reprisals from West Germany. Its own trade relations with the GDR were broken off completely on Sept. 20 in retaliation against an East German move to stop a provocative rally in West Berlin. (The East Germans had not permitted transit to rally visitors from West Germany). Bundeswehr maneuver instructions prepare the minds of the soldiers for a blitzkrieg against the German Democratic Republic.

The cancellation of the inter-German trade agreement has a particularly menacing aspect. While the economy of the GDR will suffer only a slight and temporary dislocation, serious trouble will hit West Berlin. The agreement included clauses on the supply of electricity, gas and water to West Berlin and on freight traffic between West Berlin and West Germany. The East German government has stated its willingness to resume negotiations. West German businessmen dependent on its trade are eager. But the Adenauer government has been stubbornly silent to date.

E. GERMAN OFFICIAL MAKES THE CHARGE

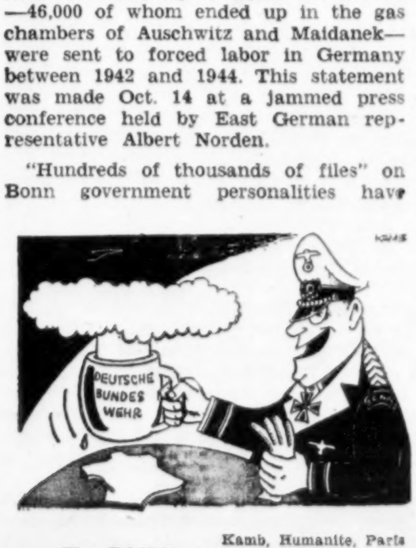
Globke: 40,000 Greek Jewish corpses on his soul

Special to the Guardian

BERLIN

CHANCELLOR ADENAUER'S right-hand man Hans Globke was the official on whose say-so 60,000 Greek Jews—46,000 of whom ended up in the gas chambers of Auschwitz and Maidanek—were sent to forced labor in Germany between 1942 and 1944. This statement was made Oct. 14 at a jammed press conference held by East German representative Albert Norden.

"Hundreds of thousands of files" on Bonn government personalities have been found by the German Democratic Republic in old Nazi records, Norden said, and a large staff is now sorting them out. The new incriminating details about Globke, which Norden threatened to reveal some weeks ago if the former Nazi did not admit his crimes and quit his leading position in the Bonn government, include the following:



Kamb, Humanite, Paris
The BONNie beer of Munich

After the fall of Mussolini, Globke was sent to Italy as the personal representative of Hitler and Himmler to install high SS officers and other German officials there to keep the fascist war administration functioning in the then Nazi-occupied country. In 1942 Globke had been sent by Hitler to Rumania where he discussed with the fascist chief of state Marshal Antonescu the enforcement of the so-called Tighina Agreements whose Clause 7 stipulated the forced deportation of all Rumanian Jews.

HIGH DECORATION: In consequence 110,000 Jews from Bukovina and Bessarabia were murdered, while Globke received one of the highest decorations of the Rumanian government. A letter dated Jan. 29, 1940, from Reich Minister of the Interior Frick stated that Globke was exempted from military service because he was busy "re-settling" Poles and Jews. A decree written by Globke, dated March 27, 1939, and marked "not for publication" defined which sections of the Czech population were to be regarded as "undesirable:" "Jews, gypsies and members of non-European races can never belong to the German **volk.** Nor are mixed breeds as a rule desirable additions to the population."

Between Sept. 2 and 8, 1941, Hans Josef Maria Globke, along with Frick and Globke's immediate superior Stuckart, held talks in Bratislava (Slovakia) with the fascist president Tiso and the Slovakian Minister of the Interior Mach. The day after the Germans left, the Slovakian Council of Ministers approved the Jewish Code Globke had worked out with the local fascists, and tens of thousands of Jewish Slovakians were sent to their death.

In reply to a question from a Danish correspondent, Norden admitted that the East German government also had information on Globke's activities in Nazi-occupied Denmark but was holding it pending the possibility that public pressure might still compel Globke to confess and retire. Meanwhile, under the determined protection of Adenauer, State Secretary Globke of the Chancery Office was being groomed for a new career, Norden said, heading an "Office of Coordination" to integrate all the Bonn ministries in the present accelerated psychological warfare program.

RAT'S NEST: Norden characterized the state apparatus of West Germany as "one big, brown rat's nest" where Globke's sheltered position was far from exceptional. He exhibited documents showing that the same judges who had operated the Nazi war tribunals which executed 30,000 German soldiers and 100,000 foreigners without due process of law were now not only installed in the civilian Bonn judiciary but were already awaiting transfer to the new military courts outlined by Defense Minister Franz Joself Strauss in a proposed bill.

A Bonn "Military Defense Decree" which went into effect on April 1, 1957, states that it is "built on the experiences of the past." The 32 one-time Nazi authors and commentators of this decree include Elmar Brandstetter, formerly an editor of the Nazi "Magazine for Defense Law" and now an editor of the "New Magazine for Defense Law." Chief prosecutor of the Bonn Wehrmacht, Brandstetter used to be a senior court-martial judge under the Nazis. Dr. Eberhard Barth, another editor of the above-mentioned Nazi magazine, is now chief judge of the Bundeswehr. Nazi war court counselor Georg Eigenwillig is ministerial counselor in the Justice Department of the Bonn War Ministry.

A MAIL ORDER SERVICE OFFERING CONSUMER-TESTED MERCHANDISE AT A SAVING

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In response to many inquiries, Guardian Buying Service will stay open Saturday, Dec. 9, from 9 a.m. until noon to accomodate local shoppers. Almost all the merchandise shown here is on hand. Come on down and do your Holiday buying!

GBS 1960 Holiday Shopping Guide

EACH HOLIDAY SEASON, as all old timers know, Guardian Buying Service issues its **ANNUAL SHOPPING GUIDE** filled with many wonderful gifts for every member of the family. This year we think we have an especially unusual collection, from Soviet wrist watches and UNICEF greeting cards to fine Japanese, East German and Indian imports. If you look over the **GUIDE** carefully, we're confident you'll find an appropriate gift for each special relative or friend.

Those who have not yet used the **BUYING SERVICE'S** facilities should know that merchandise is shipped promptly, is well packed and insured (at our expense), is absolutely guaranteed, and is sold substantially below the current market price except where we are forbidden. Naturally our stock of some items is limited, so you would do well to get your order in early.

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WHAT finer Holiday gift could you give than a 17-jewel watch made in the USSR? We're importing 5 dozen, the equal of any $75 to $100 watches in the country. They're classically simple in design, precision made, ready to give you a lifetime of good service.

Our GBS Soviet watches are unconditionally guaranteed for two years. If anything goes wrong with one during that time we will repair it without charge and, more than that, will send you a replacement in the meantime. (Unless you drop it, of course). A complete supply of parts will be maintained in this country.

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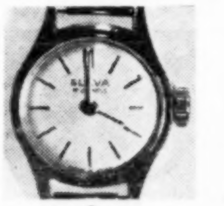
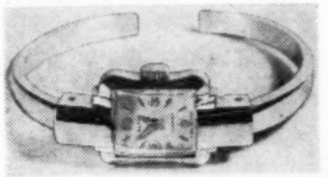

C

A—MEN'S "POLJOT"—An exceptionally beautiful watch with a gold-plated case, and waterproof, stainless steel, anti-shock back. Face is a delicate mesh-weave, giving the appearance of fine linen. 17-jewel movement, sweep second hand, monometal balance wheel, with guaranteed maximum time variation plus-or-minus 45 sec. in 24 hours. Winding time minimum 34 hours. .... **GBS PRICE $24.50**

B—MEN'S "POLJOT" AUTOMATIC—A handsome self-winding model with gold-plated case and dustproof, shockproof, waterproof stainless steel back. 22 jewels, sweep second hand, gold-plated band. A buy for only **$35.95**

C—WOMEN'S "SLAVA"—A tiny jewel! Dustproof, waterproof, gold-plated case, platinum-faced; 17-jewel movement, runs 34 hours on one wnding. Same size (14 mm) as "Kreb" model below. A lovely gift for mother or sister for **$21.50**

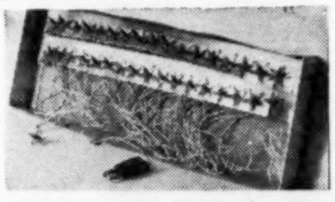


"SLAVA" Watch from the USSR! A lovely, tiny watch from the Soviet Union, 17-jewel, square model, with integral gold-plated bracelet band and case. Two-year guarantee. Service assured by GBS watch repair facilities. **$29.50**

NEW YORKERS! — We have one dozen different Soviet men's watches on hand in the GBS office, including both gold and stainless steel models. All are 17 jewels, and are shockproof and antimagnetic. Come in and take your choice—just one of a kind. Stainless steel, $21.50; gold plated models, $24.50.

Christmas Tree Light Sets

Here's an extraordinary buy: lovely, miniature Italian-made Christmas tree light sets. These are permanent lights, guaranteed for 2,000 burning hours. If one light goes off the rest remain burning. All contacts are weatherproofed for indoor or outdoor use. Bulbs are cool in operation and may be pinned to any fabric, or scotch-taped to any surface without danger. 35 light sets on a 50-foot cord weigh only 1½ oz. and draw just 15 watts!



STAR SET—Little 7/8" silver stars inset with miniature lights in white OR green (specify your color); 35 lights on 50-ft. cord. Boxed. .... **Per Set $5.95**

POINSETTIA SET — exquisite 2" poinsettias, each set with a tiny white light. If one fails, rest stay lit. Same for above. .... **Per Set $5.95**

The Famous UNICEF Greeting Cards

THIS season, in addition to its own delightful "Pere Noel" by Pablo Picasso, GBS is offering four different sets of the famed **UNICEF** Greeting Cards. **UNICEF**—United Nations International Childrens Emergency Fund — is the only UN committee devoted exclusively to helping children in need. More than 95% of the money collected actually goes into aid. Designs for the cards are contributed by well-known artists. And as the committee reports, "one box of greeting cards will provide 100 days of vitamins for a new mother and child . . . two boxes can mean 20 children cured of yaws, or 100 protected against tuberculosis."

Because so many readers have failed to notice the additional postage and handling charges in previous listings we have now included them in the prices. NOTE NEW PRICES.

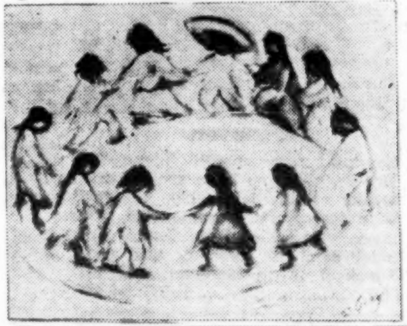
The four UNICEF sets shown here are all standard size, 4 5/8" x 5 3/4" cards, packed ten to a box with matching envelopes. They are made with a single fold and a star pattern on the inside page giving "Season's Greetings" in the five official languages of the UN—English, French, Spanish, Russian and Chinese. Each is $1.40 per set.

A Few On Hand . . .

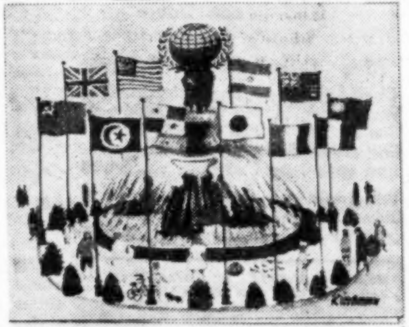
Selling Out!

Last Christmas we sold more than ten dozen of these compact, folding opera glasses for $2.25. We have just three dozen left, which you can have for $1.50 each. 2½ power, fold to cigarette case size, fine for children **$1.50**

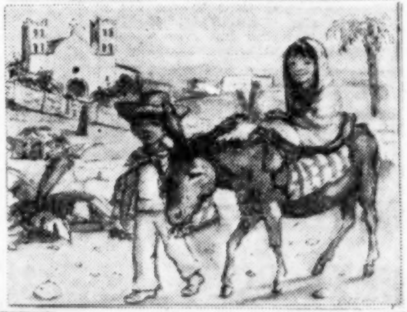
LOS NINOS—Indian children of Arizona join hands in a ceremonial dance. Design by De Grazia, in soft, swirling full colors. Ten cards and envelopes, boxed, including postage and handling. .... **$1.40 (2 boxes $2.80, 3 boxes $4.15)**

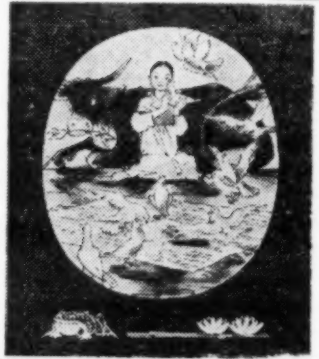


FOUNTAIN OF PEACE—A full-color card designed by Dong Kingman showing children of all nations around a UN fountain. Ten cards with matching envelopes, including postage and handling .... **$1.40 (2 boxes $2.80, 3 boxes $4.15)**



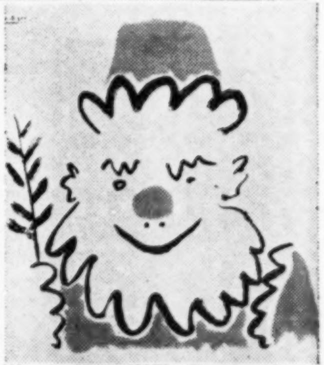
PLAYMATES—A series of five different cards, two each to a box, depicting children and their animal playmates throughout the world. In full color. Designed by Bettina. Ten to a box with matching envelopes, including postage and handling .... **$1.40 (2 boxes $2.80, 3 boxes $4.15)**





(Above) **TALES OF MANY LANDS** — Five different cards, two each to a box, designed by Adolf Zabransky, and depicting five world famous fairy tales. Ten cards and matching envelopes. to a box $1.40

(Two or more same as above)



(Above) **PERE NOEL**—The Guardian's own "Father Christmas on heavy 5"x7" card stock in three colors, with Season's Greetings at the bottom. Eight cards and envelopes .... $1.

2 sets $1.75; 3 sets $2.50; 4 sets for $3; 5 sets $3.50 Postpaid.

Imported Prints

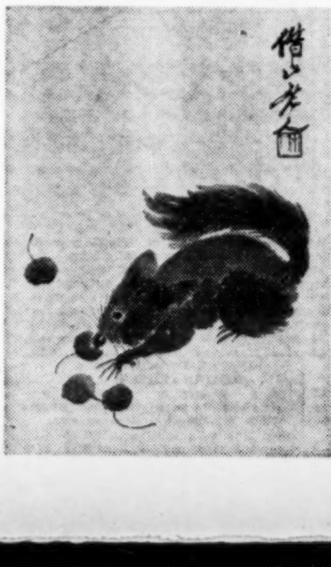
We have on hand a limited quantity of the lovely Chinese prints offered last spring. If you order right away you can get one, but they will not be offered again.

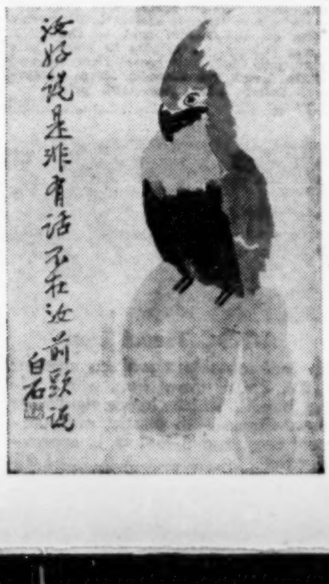
SOURI DES CHAMPS — The Field Mouse, or **Ground Squirrel** if you prefer, by Tshi Pai Chi. A wash drawing in black and gray with red cherries. 21½" x 15" on excellent paper, fine for framing. ...... **JUST $3**

LE PERROQUET — The Parrot, by Tshi Pai Chi. In full color—black, yellow and rose with green plumage. The calligraphs mean you should keep your mouth shut unless you have something worthwhile to say. 22¼" x 15". .... **NOW $3**

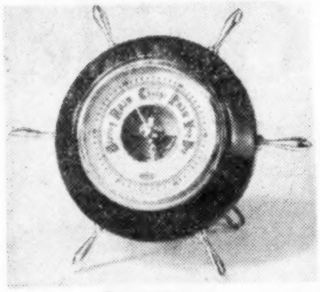
PERE NOEL—The charming Picasso "Father Christmas" in orange, black and brown. Children love it. 21½"x 15". **$3**

(See cut, above right)





For Dad, Uncle, Brother or Friend . . .



Barometers

Nautical style aneroid barometer, with six gleaming brass spokes. Mahogany finished, highly polished wood casing, 3¼" enamel dial, and heavy, raised glass face. Comes with metal easel for desk or wall use. Overall 5½" in diameter. **MODEL BA2** ....**JUST $4.50**

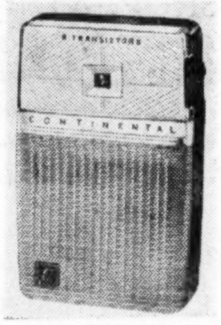
GBS Peace Dove Men's Jewelry

(See "Dove" Design Below)

CUFF LINKS — The little Guardian Peace Dove incised in oxydized outline on 5/8" x 7/8" blocks of sterling silver. Satin finish, with extra-firm snap-type backs. **$4.95**

TIE TACK—A match for the cuff links. A tiny, silhouetted dove in satin finish. **$2.50**

MEN IN BATTLE, by Alvah Bessie, **and THE LINCOLN BATTALION,** by Edwin Rolfe. Two extraordinary books about the Spanish War and Americans who went to the aid of the Republic. ORIGINALLY $6—NOW BOTH VOLUMES for $3
Separately ....$1.50 ea.



A Transistor Radio For Dad!

CONTINENTAL TR - 632 — Six transistor "shirt pocket size" ensemble includes radio, leather carrying case, batteries, magnetic earphone and case. Vernier dial tuning, 150 milliwatt power output, collapsible easel for bedside listening. 4" x 2½" x 1" deep. Takes 9-volt battery. Full year guarantee. Retail list price $31.50. **GBS PRICE $21.95**

CONTINENTAL TR - 801 — Eight transistor model with same accessories as above; Vernier tuning on slide rule dial, 5" x 3" x 1½" deep. A fine quality set. Uses 4 penlite batteries. Retail list price $44.95. .... **GBS PRICE $27.95**

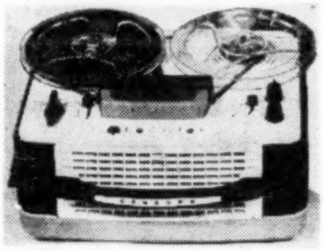
TAPE RECORDERS!

AN OUTSTANDING, low-cost tape recorder, made in Japan. Small—just 6¼" x 13 3/8" x 11½", and light—18 lbs. Recording quality is very good. Magic Eye indicator, records and plays at 3¾" and 7½" inches per second. **Accessories included:** electromatic remote control, clip-on microphone, earphone, patch cord, deluxe mahogany carrying case, reel. For direct recording, radio, TV, or records.

MODEL 103—Lightest in weight at 12 lbs., but a fine, reliable machine. 3 speeds, will record and play up to 4 hours on a single reel. List Price $99.95........**GBS $72.95**

MODEL 105—Dual speed, accepts 5" reels, has Electromatic Remote Control **$79.95**

(Add 5% shipping charges)



MODEL 107 — The performance, quality and tone you would expect only of far more expensive recorders. Dual speed, takes 7" tapes. List $139.95.............. **GBS $97.95**

TWO OUTSTANDING cigarette lighters to light up someone's Holiday Season. These are the fine side-wheel type, with a knurled wheel at the top to control the flint pressure. A little cartridge concealed in the refill cap holds a spare flint, and the lighter may be refilled or flint changed without a screwdriver, dime, etc. Men's size, left, in engine-turned gold or silver finish, just **$2;** women's (actual sizes shown) **$1.75.** "His and Hers" set **$3.95**

Three Fine Binoculars

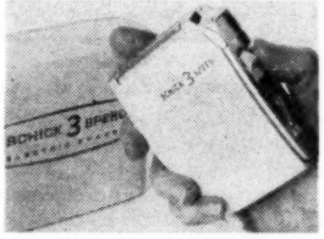
B47—7x35 center focus binoculars for all-around use. 35 mm lenses and strong 7-power magnification. Lenses are coated and baked and are equipped with protective plastic covers. Comes with handsome leather carrying case with leather strap. Fully guaranteed. An excellent buy at **$22.95**

B42—Extra powerful center focus "naval" binoculars, 7x50. Clear and brilliant, where distance is needed . . . for hunting, sports, hiking, etc. All the features above, but 50mm lenses **$25.95**

B123—In our opinion just about the sharpest, finest binoculars money can buy. 7x35 wide angle gives you 531 ft. field at 1,000 yards! Amazingly brilliant, center focus, deluxe leather carrying case **$29.95**

SCHICK 3-Speed Electric Shaver

Here's the latest model Schick electric shaver that permits you to adjust the shaving edge to your particular beard and offers a three-speed lever—slow, medium and fast. Packed in handsome leatherette case; complete with brush, power cord and sample of Pre-Shave Lotion. **MODEL 3 (List $28.50)** **$19.50**



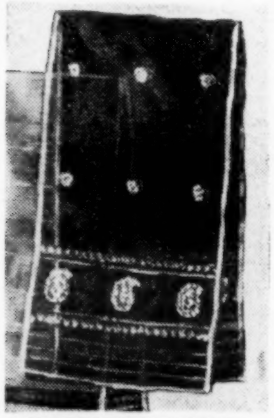
A NEW RELEASE

T-28 — THE WORLD OF SHOLOM ALEICHEM, with **Morris Carnovsky, Howard Da Silva, Ruby Dee, Gilbert Green, David Pressman and Pearl Sonner;** music by **Serge Hovey and Robert De Cormier.** Three stories—"A Tale of Chelm," "The High School," and "Bontche Schweig" (By I. L. Peretz) from the famous New York theater presentation. A TIKVA album. $3.75

Cameras, Projectors, & Photo Equipment

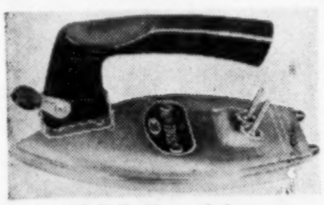
GBS carries a wide selection of photo supplies and equipment. See the GBS Holiday Buying Guide (**Oct. 31 issue**) or write for quotations.

"Sis," mother or the lady next door



PURE SILK SARI STOLE

An exquisite, pure silk, genuine Zari-embroided "Sari" scarf, with real gold plated silver threads and metallic medallions on the border and in the field. From Pakistan; available in black, pale pink, pale blue, pale green, fiery red and white. You'll see them in stores at several dollars above the GBS price.
20" x 72" $5

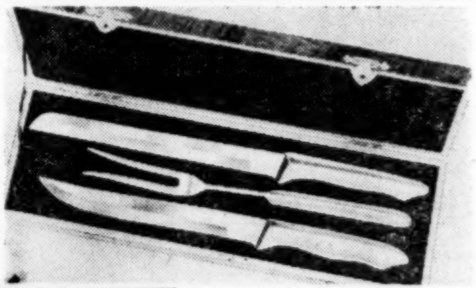


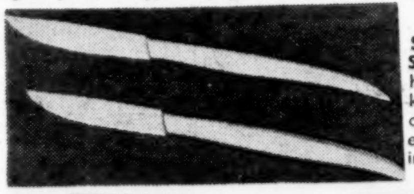
AC-DC Travel Iron

An indispensable travel companion! 110V, 250W travel iron, with folding handle which locks rigidly in place. Comes with plastic, moisture-proof case, and 6-foot U. L. approved cord. $2.95

STAINLESS STEEL CARVING SET —

Lovely 3 - piece set with hollow handles and hollow ground blades. Highly mirror - finished 13" roast slicer, 11" fork and 14" ham slicer, packed in handsome wood chest. A dozen sets left from last year at a bargain price **$5.25**





SIX - PIECE STEAK KNIFE SET — Solid, one-piece extra heavyweight stainless steel knives in a striking modern design. Highly mirror-polished with serrated tips. Gift box; imported from Japan. **$4.75**

AGAIN—Our beautiful, hand-woven, heavy cotton Guatemala skirts, in two combinations: (1) All white designs on black, royal blue or red; or (2) harmonizing multicolor decorations on black, navy blue, brown or gray. All seven models come in sizes 24-26-28-30 and 32. A real bargain at $10

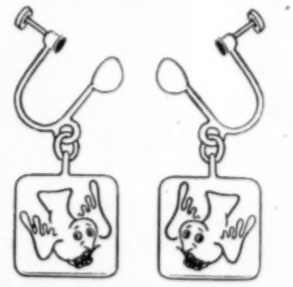
MOTHER-DAUGHTER COMBINATIONS!

Children's suspender skirts like mother's in red, royal blue or navy blue with multicolor decorations.
Ages 3 to 6 ....$6.50
Ages 7 to 10 ....$7.50

Our Popular Hand Woven Cap from Yugoslavia

Here's one of the best-selling GBS items of all—our charming little reversible, hand-woven Yugoslav caps. One side is in raised multi-colored stripes, the other in solid red, black or green. (In ordering, please give second color choice.) **JUST $2.50**

Do Your Holiday Shopping Early!



Again This Year!

GUARDIAN PEACE DOVE JEWELRY

A unique and charming series of gifts—the ever hopeful little Guardian Peace Dove cast into a stunning line of earrings, a pendant and pin. Each is oxydized sterling silver in a satin (burnished) finish. A delightful gift for a Guardian reader.

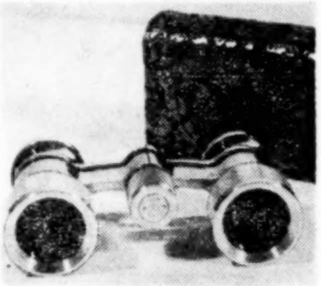
A—Exquisite drop earrings with the peace dove incised in oxydized outline on delicate ⅝" mobile squares. **$3.95**

B—A lovely 7/8" silver pendant and/or charm for charm bracelet. Comes with chain. **$3.50**

C—Charming peace dove pin with sturdy metal clasp. Pin is 1½" x 1¼" in gleaming, silver silhouette. **$3.95**

PURE WOOL PAISLEY SCARF

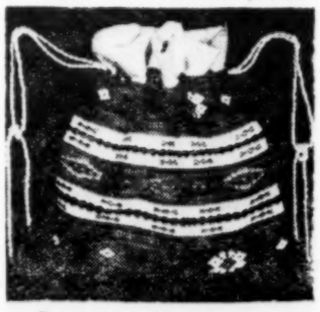
Hand printed, Japanese 31" square Paisley scarves of the finest worsted money can buy. Far superior to European imports. Hemmed, available in black or white. A fine value at $2



For Concert Goers . . .

OPERA GLASSES

B-123 — **Opera Glasses** with exquisite mother - of - pearl barrels and handsome, matching brocaded carrying case. 2½ power, with center focus, metal parts silver plated. Beautifully made, a lovely holiday gift for just **$10.50**



Rumanian Handbags

With draw-string and inner lining, available in black, white, blue and red with multi-color decorations, 12" x13½", a buy at **$3.25**

PAMPHLET PACKAGE #1

Chinese Books

50 CHINESE RECIPES — Wonderful! We sold hundreds at $1. Now..............**50c**

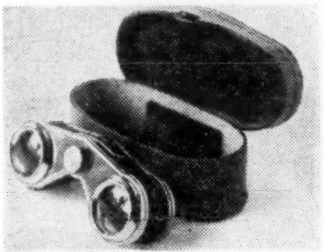
CHOSEN PAGES FROM LU HSUN—Stories and essays of the great savant. **$1**

NATIONAL COSTUMES OF CHINA — 12 charming color drawings. **25c**

ALL THREE FOR $1!

CHILDREN'S CORNER

Age 2 and Up . . .



For Boys & Girls

2½x Opera Glasses

B-176—A fine pair of opera glasses for children. Useful for all indoor or outdoor events. Just 3¼" x 1¼" x 1¼" with smart leather case. Gold or chrome finish. Center focus. A bargain at **$2.95**

"Power" Mixer

What better way to get the little ones to drink their chocolate milk or orange juice than by letting them whip it with their own power mixer? This has been one of our most popular items—a battery driven mixer that can't hurt you even if you put your finger in the spokes. 9" overall. It really works! (It's really a cocktail stirrer and mother can use it for eggs, gravies, etc., as well)
JUST $1.75

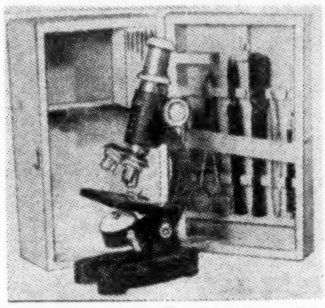
POLISH DOLLS!

PEASANT DOLL, from Poland—and straight into the hearts of little girls and not-so-little girls for their doll collections. Charming and quaint in her native costume and blond pigtails, she stands 13½" high in her laced boots. Stuffed body, composition head, just **$1.95**

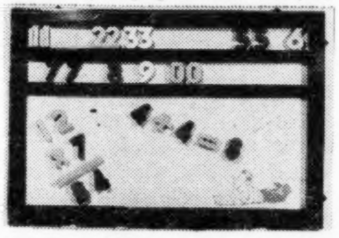
LITTLE CITY DOLL, from Poland—hard to resist, this appealing doll with flaxen curls, print dress, real underwear and shoes. Soft, stuffed body and composition head. 15" high. A wonderful Holiday gift for only **$1.95**

1,000 POWER MICROSCOPE!

B-191 ILLUMINATED MICROSCOPE—1,000 power (8 power adjustments) Illuminated microscope with same dissecting kit as B-180 plus magnifying glass. Four turrets, two eyepieces (10x and 20x), revolving light stage and light switch on base. Has transformer jack (transformer $2 extra) for connecting with 115v house current. Comes in sturdy hardwood cabinet for permanent storage. GBS PRICE **$18.95**

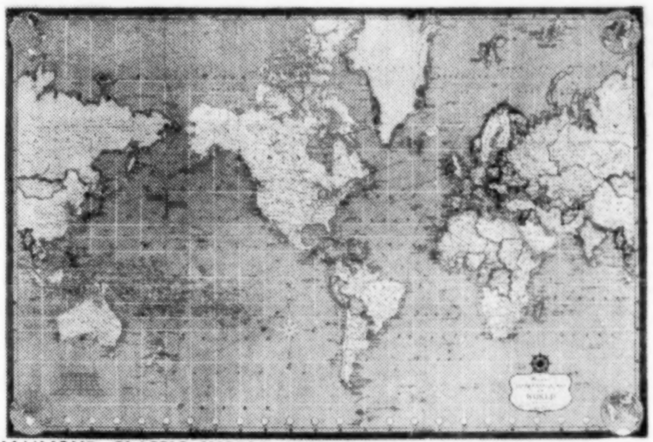


FUN WITH NUMBERS (Ages 6 to 8) Magnetic Arithmetic Board (14"x20") with 3-dimensional, brightly colored polyethylene numbers and symbols with built-in permanent magnets. Addition, subtraction, multiplication and division become easy and interesting. A child guidance toy. $2.95
Set B—Spelling game............ $2.95



PAMPHLET PACKAGE #2
SCIENCE BOOKS

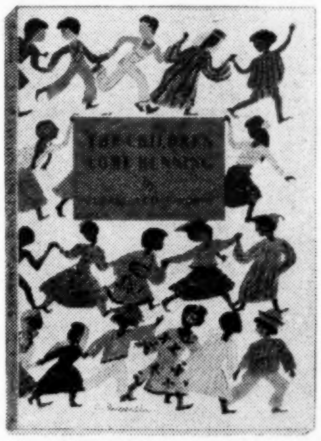
SPUTNIK INTO SPACE, by M. Vassiliev—(Hard Cover) Pub. at $3.75, 180 pp. An authoritative book on the Soviet space program. ..**Now 75c**
INTERPLANETARY TRAVEL, by Sternfeld—(Paper, 60 pp.) 25c
A VISIT TO SOVIET SCIENCE, by Stefan Heym—(Paper, 68 pp.) ... 50c
ALL THREE for $1!



HAMMOND CLASSIC WORLD MAP—Largest ever printed on a single sheet, a full 52"x76". In full color with latitude and longitude lines in white. Time zones, mileage scale, etc. Shipped in tube for flat mounting or framing. **$7.50**

HAMMOND 18" INFLATABLE GLOBE—Printed in 9 colors with clear vinyl finish. Shipped flat. Attractive wrought iron stand adjustable for wall mounting or table top. Nearly 5' in circumference with clear type. (List $16.50). PLUS 9½"x12½" 312-page World Atlas ($7.50 value) with gold-embossed, simulated leather cover.

A $24 Value Both for $16.50



The Children Come Running

by Elizabeth Coatsworth

IN ADDITION to Holiday Greeting Cards UNICEF also publishes children's books. Here's the latest, a delightful story about a trip around the world on a kite—and at holiday time in the various lands. The illustrations are from the UNICEF cards, in full color, and include such noted contributors as Ludwig Bemelmans, Bettina, Duvoisin, Low, Mai-Thu and others. A lovely gift $3.10

(Including 15c for mailing and handling charges)

For the whole Family!

Our Popular AZTEC and OPTIMA Typewriters!

FROM LOW-PRICED AZTEC "600s" (illustrated) to the deluxe **OPTIMA** and **AZTEC** "800s", GBS carries a complete line of portable East German typewriters. All machines carry five-year warranties on parts and service dealers are spread throughout the country. Feature for feature, dollar for dollar, we think these machines are far superior to other models in their price range—and GBS saves you as much as $55 over retail prices (the **AZTEC** "800" is currently selling in New York stores for $135). The **AZTEC** "600," "700" and "800" have key-set tabulation, 88-character keyboards with block type keys, finger-tip margin set, touch control, half spacing, and many other features. All machines are available in a wide range of solid colors and two-color combinations. Write for descriptive folders, or specify color choices.

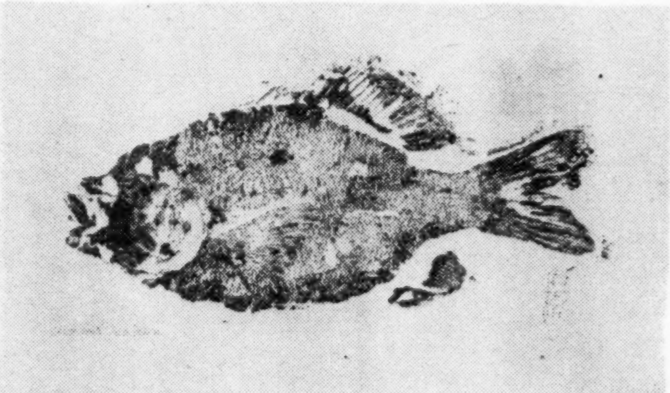
AZTEC 600—Formerly the Rheinmetal)—A "best buy" with all above features at a modest price **(Plus $3.60 Federal tax)** **$75**

ACTEC 700—The "Luxury Portable." Somewhat heavier, better trim, a few extra features **$79.95**
(Plus $3.75 Federal Tax)

AZTEC 800—The top of the line—segment shift (type bar moves up and down instead of the carriage), extra chromium **$79.95**
(Plus $3.75 Federal tax)

OPTIMA SUPER DELUXE—The finest Optima machine. Specify leatherette or solid case ..**$79.95**
(Plus $3.75 Federal Tax)

SPECIAL NOTE: For New Yorkers only, or those who can pick 'em up — we also handle the Optima standard office machine as well as Rheinmetal adding machines.



"GYOTAKU" PRINTS—Lovely prints of a variety of fish, in the Japanese style. The rubbings are made in Sumi ink on exquisite Yoroshi rice paper, suitable for framing. 12" x 19" .... **$1 EACH**

LADIES!

Rough-Textured Raw Silk Skirts

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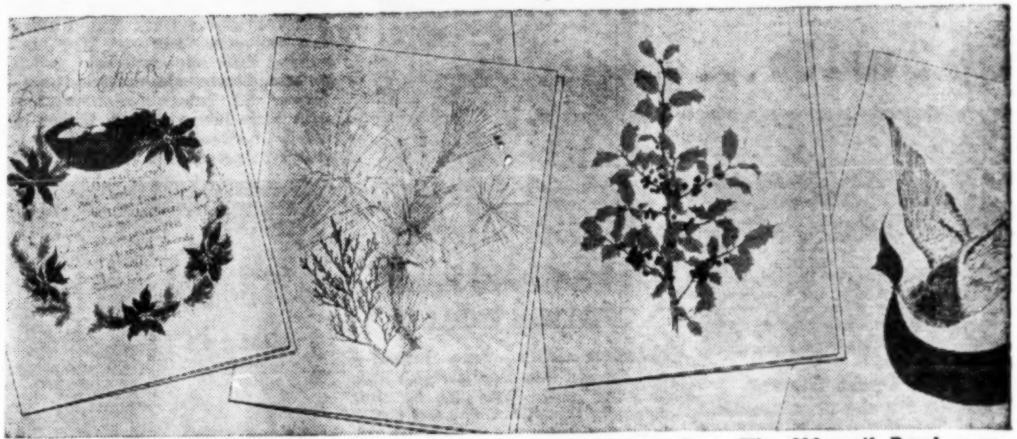

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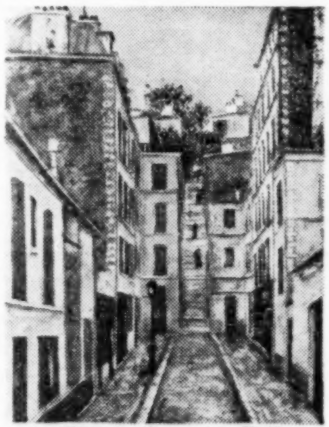
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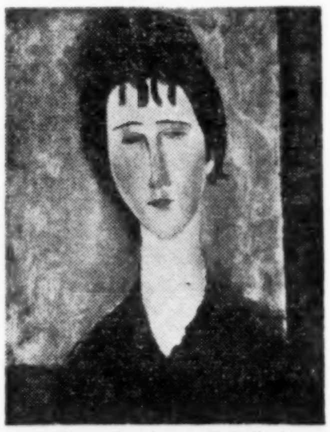
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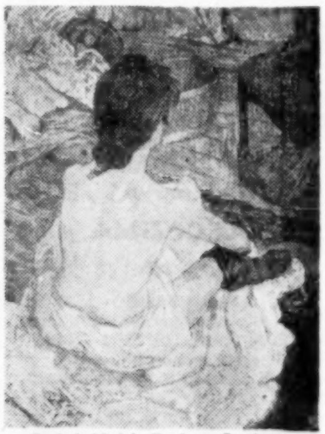
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AN EYE-WITNESS REPORT BY A KEEN OBSERVER

Cuba: The myth and the reality

By Leo Huberman

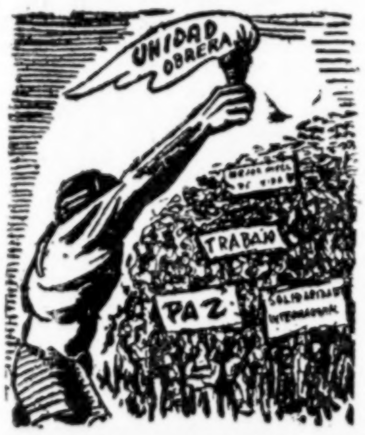
The following is from a talk given at a Fair Play for Cuba meeting on Oct. 20 at Manhattan Center, New York.

ON APRIL 21 this year, Herbert Matthews, one of the editors of the New York **Times,** told the American Society of Newspaper Editors: "In my 30 years on the **Times** I have never seen a big story so misunderstood, so badly handled, and so misinterpreted as the Cuban revolution."

My colleague Paul Sweezy and I had recently returned from a three-week visit to Cuba when Matthews made that statement. We felt he was 100% correct. And now, six months later, Sweezy and I have just returned from another three-week visit to Cuba, and I want to report to you tonight that what Matthews said in April is still true in October—the story of the Cuban Revolution, as it is told in our press, radio, and television, continues to be misinterpreted. In fact, as relations between the United States and Cuba have become more strained, so the reporting on the Cuban revolution has become even more distorted than before.

THE MYTH, in the U.S. press, is that the Cuban government is running out of money, the economy is fast going to pieces, and before very long there will be a complete breakdown. The reality is that the Cuban economy is in better shape that it ever has been, that increases in production are already impressive, and when problems of planning and organization are solved, will be astonishingly high.

The myth is that Fidel Castro is a kind of madman who delights in making derogatory and untrue remarks about the benevolent United States.



The reality is that Fidel Castro is one of the great men of history whose attacks on the United States are the legitimate complaints of a colonial country against an imperialistic overlord who refuses to make peace with the revolutionary regime and tries to smash it.

The myth is that the general condition of the Cuban people is bad and is getting worse.

The reality is that only a minority of the people are worse off than they were before—the former followers of Batista, large landowners and industrialists, some large and small businessmen and landlords, and some professional people. But the vast majority of the Cuban people are much better off than they were before—many of them have, in fact, for the first time joined the human race.

THE MYTH is that the Cuban Revolution is a threat to the security of the United States, that the interests of the American people—and the Cuban people—would be served by the overthrow of the Revolutionary regime.

The reality is that the Revolution in Cuba has indeed interfered with the profit-making activities of large American corporations — corporations which have in the past, and want, naturally, to continue, to have Cuba and all of the countries of Latin America as their private preserve to exploit as they please. But this has nothing to do with the interests of the American people as a whole. The interests of the American people would best be served by the expansion of trade with a rapidly developing, free Cuba; this would bring economic benefit to both countries and provide the basis for a new relationship of genuine friendship between the Cuban and the American people.

There is a lesson to be learned from the Cuban Revolution—an important lesson for all underdeveloped countries. The experience of Cuba proves beyond a doubt that a social revolution is an indispensable pre-condition for the inauguration of economic growth and social development. Cuba, before the Revolution, demonstrated the extent of mismanagement, inefficiency, waste and exploitation imposed upon an underdeveloped country by monopoly capitalism.

THE MERE REMOVAL of the imperialist yoke enabled revolutionary Cuba to put into cultivation vast areas of fertile land previously neglected or misused by absentee landowners, as well as to put into use industrial capacity previously kept idle. That is the lesson for underdeveloped countries—that without a social revolution there is no possibility of going beyond the introduction of largely ineffectual reforms. The experience of the Soviet Union and of China proved it before; now Cuba has proved it again.

I would not have you think that because Cuba has had a social revolution, and has made rapid economic progress, particularly in agriculture, and spectacular advances in the fields of education, health, and housing, that her success is assured. It isn't. Not by a long shot. The revolution faces many serious problems. Cuba is only now laying the foundations for industrialization, only now preparing the kind of comprehensive economic plan which is needed to guide the country's economic policy during the next five years. There is a desperate shortage of qualified technical and administrative personnel: engineers, scientists, administrators must be recruited, and new ones trained.

The economic blockade imposed by the United States has forced a switch in the flow of goods from this country to the socialist bloc. This break in the pattern of trade creates all kinds of difficulties. Take, for example, the problem of spare parts. Most of the tractors, appliances, and machinery in Cuba came originally from the United States. Their parts wear out and need to be replaced. Now the U.S. won't sell to Cuba—they must somehow circumvent this blockade—or make their own spare parts as best they can, while new factories and machines supplied by other countries are installed.

THE BREAK with the United States has an adverse political effect too. Cuba's nearness to this country meant in the past that many Cubans traveled to the States; the children of wealthy Cubans went to schools and colleges here. In addition to commercial products, movies and television came largely from the U.S. In our hotel in Varadero one evening just a few weeks ago I saw on television a cowboy film followed by Bat Masterson.

It saddens many Cubans, middle class as well as upper class, that their ties with America are being severed. Cubans in the past were subject to the same propaganda in respect to the socialist countries as Americans; many of them, therefore, are troubled by the switch in affection and trade from the U.S. to the socialist bloc. I am sure that this is one of the reasons that makes for the defections you read about all the time.

There will be more defections. Revolutions hurt some people, and help other people. The large landowners, the industrialist whose factory or mill has been intervened or expropriated, the landlord whose rents have been cut, all these people have been hurt, so naturally they oppose the regime.

THE ECONOMIC, social and cultural well-being for the masses of people is advanced—yet there are some who turn against the revolution today, and there will be others tomorrow. Why? Fridel Castro gave the answer when he said: "There are many people who wanted revolution, but not too much revolution."

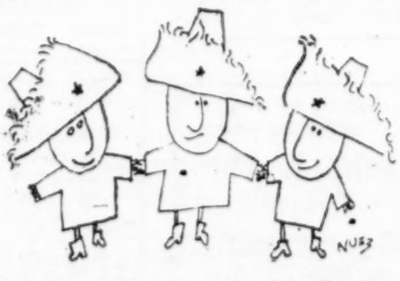
That's true. Every forward step the revolution takes becomes the breaking point for some people. Others are embittered because mistakes have been made, injustices have been done to innocent people. That is unfortunate, but inevitable. If you call only that revolution a success which is absolutely pure, and absolutely just—then you can never have a successful revolution.

But to deduce from the fact that mistakes are made, injustices occur, people become counter-revolutionists and fight the regime which once they supported—to deduce from this that "the Cuban people"—in quotes—have become disillusioned with the revolution, is absolute nonsense. To say that "the Cuban people" have turned against Fidel Castro, that he is "a bloodthirsty dictator," that "he is obsessed with death and destruction," is complete rubbish. The truth is that the overwhelming majority of the Cuban people are enthusiastic supporters of the revolution and its leaders. The truth is that the degree of unity between the revolutionary regime and the mass of the people is absolutely extraordinary. The truth is that Fidel Castro is a humanitarian, a wise, courageous, selfless man, dedicated to his country and his people.

WE RODE with Fidel through the streets of Havana and into the province of Pinar del Rio. It was an unforgettable experience. Fidel drove the car; he was wearing sun-glasses and it was fascinating to watch those people who happened to notice us do a double-take as they recognized him. Their faces lit up, they shouted "Fidel!" When the car stopped for a red light, they rushed to the driver's seat and shook hands; you could see the admiration, the genuine love on their faces.

"The Cuban People," in quotes, turning against Fidel? What an absurdity. Never was the relationship between a people and a leader so warm, so friendly, so full of love.

We inspected a pig farm, a chicken hatchery, a duck farm, a breeding station for goats. Always the friendly discussion with the working people of the problems, the failures, the successes. Here, if ever, there was—if I may use the Madison Avenue word to describe it—togetherness.



WE PARTED in the early evening and met again for dinner at 11 p.m. Fidel, who had been cheerful all day, proudly showing off the pigs and ducks and chickens, and responding quickly to all our questions, was subdued. I asked him what was wrong. He said in his halting English, "I am sad."

United Nations photo

FIDEL CASTRO & RAUL ROA
Premier and Foreign Minister at UN

Then he told us why. He had earlier received word that fourteen prisoners had broken out of jail. What bothered him was that, in his words, "these were rebel soldiers who had fought in the Sierra Maestra with us. They were good boys, but they were followers of Hubert Matos, the Comandante who had been put on trial for counter-revolution. They were not counter-revolutionists. They were good boys who went along with Matos because he had been their commanding officer. I felt they were good boys who could be saved, so we had them transferred from the Isle of Pines to the prison in Havana where they could see their families three times a week. I went frequently to see them, to talk to them, to save them from their mistakes. Now today, they broke out of prison. They will be caught, and then? They were good boys. I am sad."

A humanitarian—and a fighter. That we learned when he asked us if we would get into trouble in the United States because we were friends of Cuba. We answered that we had been in trouble before, and probably would be again. Then one of our friends said: "There is an old Russian saying, 'What more can happen to a fish after it has been caught, cleaned and fried?' Fidel laughed with the rest of us, then said: "It can get stuck in the man's throat and choke him."

A FIGHTER THEN, who thinks of a way to counter-attack even in what seems to be a hopeless situation.

I asked him: "When do you think the dreams for Cuba which you had in the Sierra Maestra will come true?"

He chuckled: "We have more dreams all the time."

One of his dreams, one that he had from the beginning of the struggle, was to make his country free and independent, a sovereign nation. That dream has already come true. We have it on the best authority, out of the horse's mouth, as it were. Here is the testimony of Earl Smith, former ambassador to Cuba, before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee on Aug. 30, 1960:

"Senator, let me explain to you that the United States, until the advent of Castro, was so overwhelmingly influential in Cuba, that, as I said here a little while ago, the American Ambassador was the second most important man in Cuba; sometimes even more important than the President. That is because of the reason of the position that the U. S. played in Cuba. Now, today, his importance is not very great."

Unlike Mr. Smith, who deplored this changed relationship, those of us who have the interest of the American people at heart, rejoice in the fact that the American Ambassador is no longer the second most important man in Cuba.

We are for an end to colonialism, not only in Asia and Africa, but in Latin America, as well.

Leo Huberman is co-editor with Paul Sweezy of Monthly Review, *an independent socialist magazine (66 Barrow St., New York 14, N. Y., $4 a year.) He is the author of several works, and co-author of* Cuba: Anatomy of a Revolution, *$3.75.*

BOOKS

Fashion is cole slaw

UPMANSHIP—in urbia, suburbia and exurbia U.S.A.—often involves the ploy of downmanship. So it is that Eve Merriam, writing in **Figleaf*** about "the business of being in fashion," manages to shred the business into slaw without, however, becoming a verbal or moral frowze in the process.

First, she does not stoop to attack us, the innocent victims of a Machiavellian industry; rather she recognizes that "it is not our voice demanding, but our enterprising economy that demands the supply, and we then come to haul it away."

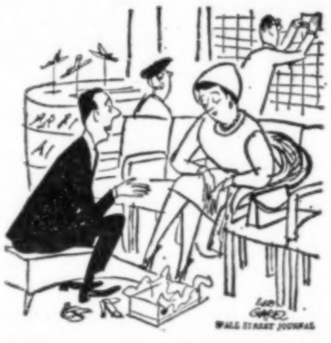
Moreover, Miss Merriam is a fashion expert, and it's pretty hard to be an expert at anything without practicing it. Her knowledgeable advice to those who would vie with Jackie Kennedy is that you don't have to go to Paris, but you have to ". . . go back to the basic poverty look. You wear cotton. On the sale rack at Bergdorf Goodman you can find a simple black cotton skirt reduced to $200. I found it and put it back, so it may still be there waiting for you."

HER differentiation between the haute couture of **Harper's Bazaar** and **Vogue**, and the middle class fashion of **Glamour** and **Mademoiselle** is informed, and deadly:

"At the highest level of fashion . . . the language is hortatory, a summons, a vision of sainthood that brooks no equivocation. You have been Called. Would you keep the Lord waiting? . . . At times thou shalt reveal thy poitrine and thy back, but not when the multitude is going about in deep-cut sun dresses. Then you cover up to the collarbone in gray jersey. What if the weather is hot, and the material makes you itch? Did Saint Theresa ever complain?

"The middle magazines are permissive, like modern middle-class parents. You are asked to do it for your own vitamined good, to improve your fashion I.Q. Come on, now we know you can if you just try. How about it now—look, our editors will go first. Still and all, you will not get thrashed if you refuse. They combine fashion with the folksiness of budgets and tuna casseroles for supper."

FOR THOSE of us who are not only willing but anxious to give fashion a low-budget try, let us not forget the Holy Trinity: Klein's, Orbach's and Alexanders'—these three, but the greatest of these is Klein's. Lest there is anyone left who still considers Klein's nothing more than an impossibly crowded bargain-basement for cheap clothing, it should be stated authoritatively that this has not been true for the past 13 years when a genius named Phil Harris began rebuilding Klein's on a fashion-for-pennies program.



Wall Street Journal

"Care to walk about a bit and see if you can stand the pain?"

Miss Merriam reports that Klein's sales had dropped to $9,000,000 a year when Harris took over in 1947; the estimated gross for 1959 was more than $115,000,000—this on a profit margin of 1.3% (lower than A & P's profit margin). Harris commands front seats at the Paris openings for his buyers, along with those from Magnin's, Saks, and Marshall Field. Klein's has Italian designers doing knit dresses exclusively for them. Klein's can dispose of 66,000 cashmere sweaters in a month and, once, in a recent mink sale, sold 20 mink stoles at $299 each in 20 minutes.

At these prices you may not take the mink but you're pretty sure to take fashion in some form and Miss Merriam would be the last to contend that American women have any intention of refusing to buy. She does point out, however, that the fashion industry has managed, most successfully, to foist on the consuming public the most wide-spread clothes conformity ever known, in its efforts to increase profits and beat the competition. Small business failures, giant chains, combinations, advertising and promotion—all these mean that conformity takes over and we accept and expect it. Part of the younger generation's wariness and stand pat-ism in politics and in social progress has to do with the examples we have set them in fashion, Miss Merriam feels.

IT IS THE WAY in which fashion has affected the individual in the course of its fight for economic supremacy that worries Miss Merriam most, and it is here that she comes closest to an attack on the society which has spawned this industry.

The attempt to make everything from cigarettes to crime into a national fun-game leads Miss Merriam to the unhappy conclusion that "the pervasiveness of fashionable fun reflects our own made-in-America brand of existentialism" in which we replace Sartre's recognition of the "absurdity" of living with a belief that "absurdity is living, and man should try to approximate a state of total irresponsibility in his existence."

She adds: "It is a philosophy that does not make much sense, true, yet the making of nonsense fits within the framework of our salesmanship society where personal relationships are fewer and fewer, and things more and more so. It is not without significance that a fashion vocabulary speaks so often of 'a companionable shirt,' 'a friendly fabric,' 'an amiable design.'

"Only a poor sport does not feel advanced by this fun-for-all philosophy. Clearly, the fault lies not with the House but with the player who is going by the wrong rules, stubbornly clinging to an outmoded Constitution that considered the pursuit of happiness as part of personal fulfillment within a social order. In our time the pursuit sets out in the opposite direction."

While this is, of course, the real point, it is nevertheless reassuring that Eve Merriam has allowed us to feel, smugly, that we rather than they rejected the silly business of hats, and that we as well as they have a good thing in Klein's.

—**Jane Bedell**

**FIGLEAF, by Eve Merriam. Drawings by Burmagh Burris. J. B. Lippincott Co,. 256 pp. $4.95.*

On parade

EVE MERRIAM, supported by illustrator Paul Goldone, has written an utterly charming book for children.* We all know, I may assume, that elephants travel in herds and fish swim in schools, but I have just learned that kittens curl up in kindles and curs run away in a cowardice—or do they? The picture shows them running in all directions. The book presents us with a "sloth of bears," a "skulk of foxes," a "pride of lions," and many collectives of other animals. Any bright child who is fascinated by words will love this book. Adults, too, will enjoy it, and perhaps play with the idea of extending the collectives beyond the authority of the dictionary which, Miss Merriam assures us, justifies every "murder of crows" and "pace of asses." One might, for example, in this election year have spoken of a calamity of candidates.

—**E. Louise Mally**

**A GAGGLE OF GEESE, by Eve Merriam. Illustrations by Paul Goldone. Alfred A Knopf, Inc., New York. 40 pp. $2.95.*

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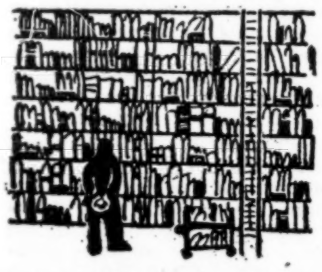
PRIESTLEY ON LITERATURE

On the abdication of human reason

J. B. PRIESTLY'S 400-page history of literature and Western man* from the Renaissance to the second world war is another of those once-over-lightly surveys which make irresistible the temptation to revive an old joke: "Difficult? Yes, but I wish it were impossible!"

Perhaps one should just commend Priestley's conscientious attempt at balance; comment on his helpful inclusion of over a hundred thumbnail biographies; raise an eyebrow at his surprising omission of the great revolutionary English poet, Milton; praise his surprising inclusion of the great Russian revolutionary poet, Blok; make special mention of the interesting discussion of certain inherent difficulties faced by a subjective contemporary artist who wishes to use the dramatic form; and suggest the much greater value of almost any good chronological anthology with historical notes. With a postscript deploring the total lack of quotation, and celebrating the unusually readable and rapid expository style, such a review would really be no unfair reflection of the book's total failure to contribute any new understanding of our literary history.



BUT BECAUSE Priestley himself is so obviously looking for a way to understand the development of literature in historical terms, because he is too honest to attempt concealment of the inadequacies in his idealistic framework, and because his own liberal background and unrepented past activities so clearly assert the social relevance of art, it may be worth using this book all the more as an example of the bankruptcy of most of today's critical literary history.

Priestley is, of course, well aware that there have been many vital changes in the structure of our society since the Renaissance, and he is still more conscious of the sharp turns in literary development which have roughly coincided with these. But while he often indicates such specific relationships his general line of interpretation stubbornly reverts to the old pendulum-like history of art which saw the development of romanticism as a reaction against classicism, the development of realism as a reaction against romanticism, and so on ad infinitum.

It is thus perhaps not altogether accidental that **Literature and Western Man** offers no analysis at all of the age of Milton, and sheds so little light on the major movement of romanticism which it considers at some length without ever even relating it to the French Revolution.

ACTUALLY, Priestley's most sustained reference to that crucial event in modern European history does it rather less justice than is done to the English and American revolutions by total omission! For it goes little further than the tangential comment that [Voltaire's] "hatred of war, which he ridiculed and condemned over and over again, seems to us now one of history's ironies, for Voltaire helped to bring about the French Revolution, which in turn, helped to create more and bigger wars, far more extensive and murderous than any wars his age had known, and pointed the way, via the armed nation and the idea of total war, to the mass slaughter and global lunacies or our own age, on a scale to drive ten Voltaires out of their minds."

Nor is this the only period about which Priestley's historical statements betray a refusal to think seriously in scientific or casual terms. He offers some slight speculation as to the general "death wish" or unconscious impulse toward destruction engendered in modern man by the continual frustration and depersonalization he suffers in the modern world. He then suggests that if there had been no first World War, the balance between introversion and extroversion might have been restored to literature.

"On the other hand," he continues, "we may still feel that the vital seeds . . . . were sown earlier and at a depth inaccessible to whatever comes from political events; and that because time moves so slowly and mysteriously in man's unconscious . . . ." and so on and on, until we come to the profound observation: "One thing is certain, that whatever the First World War might have done or not done, it did literature no good."

TOYLAND XMAS FAIR

Lancaster, London Daily Express
"Cosmo! You've compromised!!"

AFTER THIS, we can hardly be amazed to find that, at the end of his survey, the author urges (as the only specific to restore meaning to both life and literature) a return to an undefined religion in which, he frankly admits, he has no real belief. How can anyone not be dubious of a statement of faith which is expressed in the following terms:

"We must wait . . . . But while we are waiting we can try to feel and think and behave, to some extent, **as if** our society were already beginning to be contained by a religion . . . as if we were certain that Man cannot even remain Man unless he looks beyond himself, as if we were finding our way home again in the Universe . . . . We may need much more to establish order, justice, real community, in the outer world, and may not ourselves find the right healing symbols for the inner world, but, just as a first step, we can at least believe that Man lives, under God, in a great mystery, which is what we found the original masters of our literature, Shakespeare and Rabelais, Cervantes and Montaigne, proclaiming at the very start of the journey of Western Man."

So the abdication of human reason takes place, abetted by wide reading, careful preparation, and in perfect honesty.

—Annette T. Rubinstein

**LITERATURE AND WESTERN MAN, by J. B. Priestley. Harper and Bros. 512 pp. $6.95.*

THE HISTORIC ROOTS

Religion in the West

MARTIN A. LARSON'S **The Religion of the Occident*** is an indispensable source of information for those who desire to understand the historic roots of our contemporary Western faith. It is especially a helpful corrective for those who are still tempted to believe that our Judeo-Christian faith is a full-blown revelation apart from the whole stream of human experience going back to the most primitive times.

The key to understanding the religious faith of the Occident, says Larson in his foreword, is to realize that it "consists substantially of a synthesis of beliefs and doctrines which had their origin in many lands and among various peoples and which were combined and proclaimed in what we may call the Gospel Jesus."

One of the great synthesizers, for example, was Pythagoras (580-500 B.C) who absorbed all existing religions and laid down teachings found in Judeo-Christianity. His system included more than mystery-cults and theology, but ways of economic living. Thus we find a respect for labor and for the first time the principle: From each according to his ability, to each according to his need. Pythagorean brotherhoods rebelled against class divisions and economic exploitation that had broken down the equalitarianism of the primitive community. Not only aggression and exploitation were crimes, but also the enjoyment of comfort and personal wealth while others suffer.

MR. LARSON takes us through the refinements that come from the uniqueness of ancient Israel, with its suffering, the emergence of the Essenes who adopted the Pythagorean way of life, and their impact on the thinking and teachings of Jesus. A minimum requirement, if one does not read the entire volume, is to digest Parts II and III on Jewish Sources and The Inner Meaning of the Gospel Jesus.

The all-important discovery, as far as the essence of the Gospel is concerned, is that while the first Christians expected the early return of their resurrected Lord, their system "seemed practical enough to a tightly organized community of religious revolutionaries who had turned their backs forever upon an acquisitive society."

To me the great tragedy is that so many adherents to Occidental religion find it easy to escape through an other-worldly religion about Jesus and fail to apply his ethics to an acquisitive society that breeds war, oppression, bigotry, and racism. They refuse to apply the ethical concept of universal brotherhood, for this inevitably leads to a shift in social power. The Gospel is good, but painful news because it involves the way we share our goods.

—Willard Uphaus

**THE RELIGION OF THE OCCIDENT, by Martin A. Larson. Philosophical Library. 736 pp. $6.*

Art sale and bazaar for N.Y. music school

THE METROPOLITAN Music School, 18 W. 74 St., will hold an art sale and bazaar from Nov. 23 (7:30 p.m.) through Nov. 27. Art will include works by De-Martini, Kallem, Kaplan, Liberte, Moses and Raphael Soyer, Takis and Wilson.

The bazaar, which begins at 10 a.m. Nov. 25, will feature furniture, glassware and handicrafts. Miriam Fagleson, bazaar committee chairman, said the sale will benefit the school's scholarship fund.

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The Congo story

(Continued from Page 1)

Dayal suggested, was to reconvene the popularly-elected Congolese Parliament which Kasavubu and Mobutu had suspended.

STATE DEPT. SPEAKS: When the Dayal report was made public, the State Dept. in an unusual move condemned its attack on Belgium and openly supported Belgian policy in the Congo. Simultaneously, news came from Leopoldville that the U.S. had granted visas to 11 of Mobutu's officers to visit the Pentagon and American military training centers. On Nov. 5 Kasavubu, who for four months had refused to stir out of his house, announced he was coming to the UN via Paris.

Most Afro-Asians felt the situation called for action to prevent still another coup d'etat involving Kasavubu and Mobutu and Belgium and supported by France and the U.S., and to preserve the status quo until the UN conciliation commission had had a chance to help restore stability in the Congo. Eight states—Ceylon, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Mali, Morocco and the UAR— submitted a resolution to the General Assembly to seat immediately the "representatives of the Central Government of the Congo" and "to insure the security" of the Congolese Parliament which the UN conciliation commission would attempt to reconvene.

KASAVUBU'S SPEECH: Kasavubu arrived before the Assembly could discuss the resolution, and was given the privilege of addressing the UN before debate began on Nov. 8. He demanded immediate recognition of a delegation he headed and which included, among others, Evariste Kimba as representative of Katanga. Kasavubu added that Kimba's membership in the delegation was evidence "of the unity that I have gathered around me."

Kimba, however, wired the UN that his appointment to the Kasavubu delegation was "inadmissible and irresponsible" and that he would not serve unless Katanga's independence was recognized. At the same time Hammarskjold received cables from the leaders of the Congolese Senate and House accusing Kasavubu of violating his country's fundamental law, collaborating with Belgian nationals to maintain power and exceeding his authority in appearing at the UN without the approval of Parliament.

IT MUST END: Guinea's chief delegate Ismael Touré and Soviet chief delegate Valerian Zorin spoke after Kasavubu. Both emphasized that supreme authority in the Congo rested on the democratically-elected Parliament which, before it was suspended by Kasavubu and Mobutu, had voted its confidence in Premier Lumumba. Touré accused the colonial powers of attempting to create "a situation of complete chaos" in the Congo "to bring the Belgians back." He concluded:

"Colonialism must end. Coups d'etat must end. Neo-colonialism must end. Legality must be reestablished in the Congo. The dignity of the Congolese people must be restored and respected. The UN must confine itself to its role, which is to assist the legitimate government of the Congo."

Kasavubu's demand for immediate recognition of his delegation, however, had placed the Afro-Asians in a quandary. They—and many others who sympathized with their position—were reluctant to attack directly the Chief of the Congo State. They were also aware of the increasingly open Western support for Belgium and the Congolese who were working with Belgians in the Congo. Ghana, therefore, moved when the Assembly resumed debate on Nov. 9 that debate on the Congo be adjourned, pending the report of the conciliation commission.

A SURPRISED WEST: The surprised Western delegates used all the parliamentary tricks they could muster to avert the motion for adjournment, which took precedence over any other issue before the Assembly. After two hours of fantastic and acrimonious wrangling, the Assembly by a majority vote approved the motion for adjournment. The U.S., nevertheless, railroaded Kasavubu's demand through the Credentials Committee the following day and attempted to reopen the Congo debate in the Assembly.

Kasavubu's arrival in New York, while Lumumba was prevented from leaving the Congo, the quick change of tactics by the Afro-Asians in the UN, and the shift in Western maneuvers to meet this change indicated the intricate moves behind the scenes regarding the Congo.

THE CHANGING FACE—AND CHARACTER—OF THE UN
Achkar Marof (l.) and Ismael Toure (c.) of Guinea with Rajeswar Dayal

REVEALING REPORTS: Taken together with Dayal's stinging report, a remarkably candid story on the genesis of the UN Congo army by former New York Times staff member Joseph Kraft (**Harper's** magazine, Nov., 1960), and a revealing dispatch by Ray Vicker (**Wall Street Journal**, Nov. 9), they lay out an unsavory pattern of Western strategy toward the Congo from the day its independence was announced.

The UN will soon be discussing the Soviet proposal for swift independence for and liquidation of foreign bases in the remaining colonies and trust territories. This proposal is supported by most Afro-Asians and some Latin Americans in the UN. Ghana and Guinea have been most outspoken on behalf of colonial freedom and for some form of united effort—perhaps even of alliance—by African states to utilize their combined potential wealth rationally and to speed the pace of the Africans' economic betterment. Ghana and Guinea have already formed such an alliance.

THE SECRETARY GENERAL: The Western powers are alarmed by the breakneck pace of colonial freedom, apprehensive of losing their considerable investments in Africa and the fat profits dependent on controlled—and therefore cheap—labor. They particularly dislike Ghana and Guinea as the prime instigators of the freedom movement and associate them with the Soviet Union because these two independent African states advocate planned economic development. Their policy has been to discredit Ghana and Guinea and to foment turmoil in the Congo to "prove" that Africans cannot govern themselves.

Kraft in his **Harper's** article describes Hammarskjold's activities behind the scenes when the Congo appealed for UN help against Belgian aggression. "The essence of the Secretary General's action, as I see it," Kraft writes, "was that he put first into the Congo the troops of African states loyal to the UN and with no special interests in the Congo, while holding off those radically nationalist countries with fish of their own to fry." This necessarily meant also opposing Lumumba.

THE THREE MEN: Kraft names Ghana and Guinea as the "radically nationalist countries." He concedes that Lumumba "enjoyed some popularity at home and considerable credit abroad." But he became anathema because, Kraft says, "Lumumba had close political ties with President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and President Sekou Touré of Guinea. The three men entertained ambitions of an alliance—or even a union—that might produce a state that could dominate all of Africa."

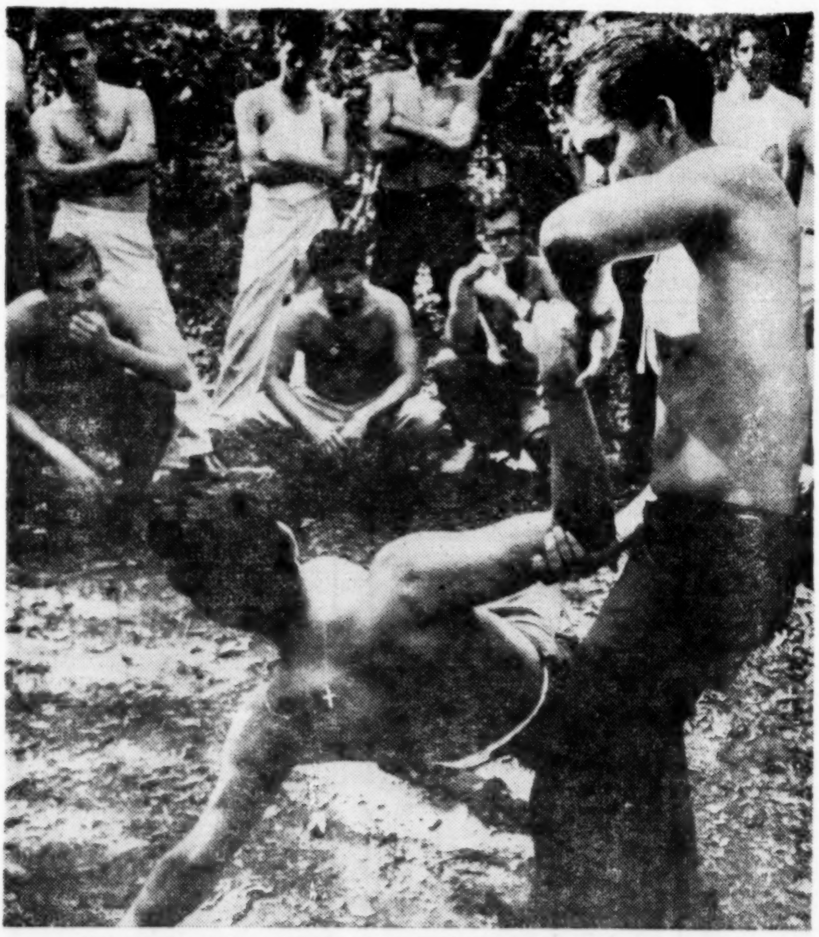
He then describes how Hammarskjold astutely "skipped over . . . Ghana and Guinea [and] their sympathetic ally and the strongest state in Africa, Nasser's United Arab Republic," and turned instead for troops "to two smaller states, mainly distinguished for conservative nationalism, Tunisia and Ethiopia."

For the Tunisians and Ethiopians, Kraft writes, "the green light was on [while] strange difficulties were piling up for Ghana, Guinea and their Egyptian ally," until Hammarskjold ran out of such excuses as planes not being available and felt that he had "on the spot his own commander and a nucleus of reliable troops."

THEY WON'T FALL IN: Vicker reported from Brussels the prevailing official opinion on the Congo: "At the root of the present situation is refusal of the more rabidly nationalist countries in the Afro-Asian bloc to recognize that the Congo is not a country capable of governing itself." These officials maintained that African nationalists refused to admit this because such admission might "open the door to questions about the ability of Africans elsewhere to govern themselves, in Angola, for instance, or in Kenya or in the Rhodesian Federation."

But neither Hammarskjold's maneuvers nor the colonialists' propaganda seem to be working out as planned. Dayal's report tore aside the veil of confusion created by those who would rob the Congolese of their riches and their inalienable right to freedom.

The West is having less success in its attempts to smear Afro-Asians by pointing to their friendship with the Soviet Union. Proof of this was supplied in the UN Assembly when some of the cautious former French colonies supported Ghana's motion for adjournment of the debate on the Congo.



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The myth and the reality of Cuba

The stories you read in the GUARDIAN—like the Leo Huberman report (p. 11)—are stories which make the GUARDIAN a very special paper. Today, more than ever, Americans should have the GUARDIAN's kind of reporting to reach intelligent points of view. Do your friends a good turn by sending them subs. Just $1 for 13 weeks, $5 for a full year.

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CALENDAR

CHICAGO

BANQUET honoring Mrs. Eva Tandaric (mother of deportation victim Steve Tandaric) and celebrating Steve's release from Yugoslav detention camp—Sun., Nov. 20, 6 p.m., Chopin Center, 1547 N. Leavitt. Don. $2.50. Ausp: Midwest Committee for Protection of Foreign Born

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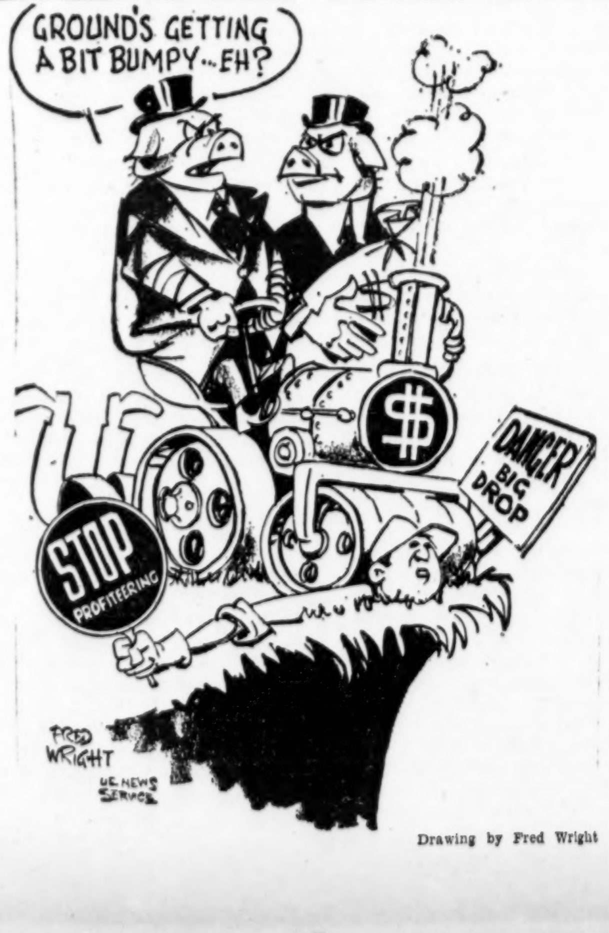

Drawing by Fred Wright

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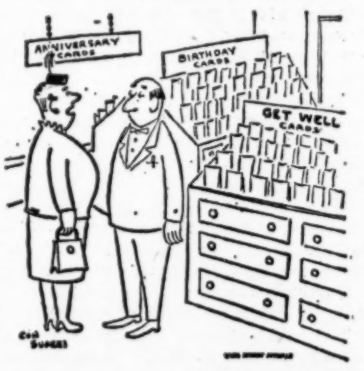
THE GALLERY

REVERENCE FOR THE ELECTORAL process lies deep in the American heart. For some it comes before personal safety. W. C. Bell of Dallas, Tex., suffered a heart attack while waiting in line at a polling booth, but he insisted on being wheeled into the booth to vote before he was taken to the hospital . . . In Las Vegas, Nev., Sylvia Averett tripped and broke her wrist while waiting to vote; she too insisted on voting before going to the hospital . . . But for Ida Mae Chapman and Marie F. Young, the ballot is an indulgence. Mrs. Chapman, 93, voted in Hallowell, Me., for the first time. "I felt I was too young before," she said. In Burlington, Vt., Mrs. Young, 87, also voted for the first time. She said that she had "always lived in the country and was too far from the polls and I've been too busy raising the family." . . . Last July Mrs. Margaret Sanger, advocate of birth control, said that she would "find another place to live" if Sen. Kennedy became President. She added: "In my estimation a Roman Catholic is neither Democrat nor Republican, nor American nor Chinese; he is a Roman Catholic." After Kennedy's election Mrs. Sanger said that mutual friends had told her that he was really "sympathetic and understanding toward the problem of world population." She said that she would wait until the end of the first year of his administration before deciding to leave . . . . At the State Department's invitation the Ghana Embassy sent observers to polling places. H. V. H. Sekyi, second secretary of the embassy, chose to observe in Georgia. Accompanied by another Ghanaian and a representative of the Commerce Dept., he watched the voting in Mapleton, near Atlanta. Some white voters were angered that a Negro should be at the polls and a "kind of confusion" followed. A policeman told Sekyi to "get out or there will be trouble." Sekyi protested but two policemen manhandled him out of the building.

JOHN POPE, WHO RUNS AN AWNING SHOP in suburban Alexandria, Va., lives a quiet life, but at 2 p.m. on Nov. 6 "all hell broke loose" in his shop. Vice President Nixon was on a nation-wide television show in which he invited viewers to call in questions. Periodically the number to call flashed on the screen. Nixon was in Detroit and the phone number was a Detroit exchange. But many people thought the program came from Washington and when they dialed the number, they got Pope's shop.

After the first dozen calls Pope called the Republican National Committee to complain. "That's impossible, you couldn't be getting Mr. Nixon's calls," a voice told him. Pope insisted that if they didn't believe him, "they could send Mr. Nixon over to help answer the telephones." Pope was transferred to a higher-up who said he would "look into it," but the calls continued.



Wall Street Journal

"Have you something for someone who is starting to see a psychiatrist?"

In exasperation, Pope finally decided to play along. He identified himself to callers as the Vice President and said he was "ready for the question." "They were happy as hell at my answers and I wind up telling them don't forget to get to the polls early tomorrow."

EADERS OF THE RAY TURNER for State Senate Committee in Battle Creek, Mich., came up with a novel piece of campaigning. They reasoned that voters had had their fill of political advertising. On the day before election, the committee bought ten-second spot commercials on the local radio station. Instead of harangue, the commercials offered ten seconds of uninterrupted silence . . . Outgoing Undersecy. of Labor James T. O'Connell told a Labor for Nixon rally that the only thing the Democrats could offer the nation was "the Kennedy cocktail—America on the rocks." . . . Fieldale, Va., officials may ask the electronics industry to redesign television sets before the next election. A woman voter dropped her ballot into the air slot in back of the television set, which she mistook for a ballot box. The Fieldale polling place is the local firehouse, where the TV set had been turned to the wall before the balloting . . . Dixiecrat Rep. James C. Davis in Atlanta, Ga., who ran unopposed, got a mild scare when Willie B., a gorilla at the local zoo, got 390 write-in votes. Davis' election was never in real doubt; his opposition was split. Some wrote in the names: Mickey Mouse, Yogi Bear and Donkey Joe.

ONE IN EVERY 100 DOCTORS is a dope addict, according to Dr. Edward R. Bloomquist, professor at the College of Medical Evangelists in Los Angeles. He said many physicians were not aware of the addiction qualities of some drugs until it is too late . . . A disease which runs in epidemic proportions among physicians is cacography. It is habit-forming and socially undesirable; it is rarely fatal but it may cause heart failure for those who come in contact with an afflicted doctor. Cacography is a disease of the hand commonly known as poor penmanship. Mt. Sinai Hospital in New York is working on a cure. It brought in Max Rosenhaus, penmanship instructor for the Board of Education, to give five two-hour courses to staff doctors. Annette Kraus, chief medical records librarian, cheered the move: "We can't begin to make out the writing. We start calling the doctor. Sometimes he can't make out his own handwriting."

But somehow doctors' bills always seem to be made out in a clear, bold hand.

—Robert E. Light

THE GUARDIAN'S HOLIDAY TRIP

Calling all hands for Cuba

ON THE BEACH AT VARADERO
Colorful flying beach canopies invite the vacationer to relax

A SURPRISE VISIT from our tour representative in Cuba last week brought exciting new details of the arrangements for our Holiday Tour Dec. 23 to Jan. 2. If it was difficult before to restrain our enthusiasm, now it is impossible; you'll have the time of your life, if you can stand the pace!

The basic arrangements are the same: we stop at the fabulous Habana Libre (formerly the Hilton) while in Havana; and at the lovely, palm-shaded Oasis at Varadero Beach while on tour in the interior. The price—$350, Idlewild to Idlewild ($240 Miami to Miami, or $200 flat if you make your way to and from Havana)—includes all meals (three a day), all transportation whether by air, bus or taxi fleet; and tours of four and possibly five of Cuba's provinces. Also "open house" visits to many of Cuba's new public works, institutions and developments in the Havana area.

In the bargain are "extras" like a big Christmas eve barbecue at lovely Rio Cristal, Havana's new restaurant-park with one of the finest swimming pools in Cuba; and another banquet, U.S.-style, on Christmas day at one of the neighboring de luxe hotels, the Nacional or the Riviera. Also, banquets on New Year's Eve and New Year's Day, one of them perhaps at the famed Tropicana night club. And each with special guests representing the host country.

AFTER THE CHRISTMAS weekend in Havana, we take off by air-conditioned bus for Varadero Monday morning, Dec. 26. With time for a swim each morning at one of the world's finest beaches, the Oasis Hotel will be the home base for daily bus trips to cooperatives, new construction and historic points of interest in Matanzas, Santa Clara and possibly Camaguey provinces.

Thursday we return to Havana for visits to the great new Havana East Workers Housing Project, the beach developments around Havana, Camp Columbia, the children's city built on the site of Cuba's once-fearsome military fortress, and other attractions, including the new government buildings of the Plaza Civica. Also, fitted in somewhere, will be trips west to Pinar del Rio province, home of the vast, new agricultural cooperatives.

Somewhere in our ten-day stay—probably on Christmas Day—we will visit Cuba's biggest orphanage, named for the Heroes of Moncada. Arrangements are being made for our group to bring presents for the children. Suggestions on what to bring will be sent to each person reserving for the tour.

The tour will conclude with a big New Year's weekend, including our two banquets and ringside seats for the big celebration and parade Jan. 1 marking the second anniversary of Cuba's revolution.

IF YOU STARTED reading this week's GUARDIAN at the front of the paper, you know by now that Cedric Belfrage, our Editor-in-Exile, will be in Havana to greet us on our arrival. He will accompany us on at least some of the tours and certainly we expect to have him as a special guest of honor at the banquets, for a world traveler's report on how others see us after eight years of brinkmanship, and what the world expects from a changed administration.

We say farewell to Cuba on Mon., Jan 2, arriving back in the U.S. in time to allow travelers from all parts of the country to be on the job or back at classes Tuesday morning.

A $50 deposit for each reservation should be sent to GUARDIAN TOURS, 197 E. 4th St., New York 9, N.Y., prior to Dec. 13.

See you in Havana!

NEWSPAPER

AGAINST U.S.

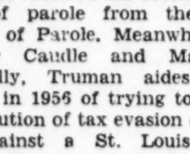
$1,000,000 suit filed by Winston

A $1,000,000 damage suit was filed against the government Nov. 7 on behalf of Henry Winston, Negro Communist leader jailed under the Smith Act and now blinded after being stricken with a brain tumor while a prisoner in Terre Haute, Ind.

Winston's suit, filed by his attorney John J. Abt of 320 Broadway, N.Y.C., charges that his total blindness was caused by delay in diagnosis of his illness due to "negligent and wilful conduct" of federal prison authorities. Winston's complaints of dizziness, instability and difficulty in vision were diagnosed in April, 1959, as "borderline hypertension" by prison physicians who prescribed dramamine pills and urged him to lose weight. On Jan. 6, 1960, attorney Abt visited Winston and insisted on his transfer to a hospital. He was subsequently brought to Montefiore Hospital in New York where the brain tumor was removed. A partial paralysis has since been overcome, but Winston will be blind for life.

After a period of recuperation at a U.S. Public Health service hospital at Staten Island, Winston was returned to federal prison at Danbury, Conn., last month to finish his sentence, which will run to Jan. 1962 with usual time off for good behavior.

Despite appeals for his release from prominent churchmen and others from all parts of the country and the world, Winston has just received his seventh denial of parole from the U.S. Board of Parole. Meanwhile, T. Lamar Caudle and Matthew Connelly, Truman aides convicted in 1956 of trying to block prosecution of tax evasion charges against a St. Louis shoe wholesaler, have both been released on parole. To appeals for a pardon, the Dept. of Justice Pardon Attorney, Reed Cozart, replied this month that "we have reached the conclusion that we would not be warranted in asking to intervene in his behalf."



the SPECTATOR

Southern voices

WHEN SOUTHERN NEGRO COLLEGE STUDENTS shook the nation last winter with their dramatic demonstration of the need for change in the South, no group was more taken by surprise than adult Negro leaders. And because some of them still are somewhat less than firm in their support for the youth movement, there is much talk in the South of a crisis in leadership.

Lewis Wade Jones, sociologist of Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala., put the "crisis" issue in focus by saying that in the past Negroes had been "brainwashed into accepting limited goals." The status quo in race relations had been maintained, he said, by the "creating and rewarding of a restraining elite."

Many younger Negroes have felt that the older leadership had settled into a pattern of conciliation or "accommodation." There was the college president who strove to educate the Negro and to gradually raise the level of Negro achievement; the preacher who taught patience and defined the Negro's "place"; the social worker who wanted to better bad social conditions; the businessman and civic leader who provided separate, but almost never equal, facilities. All of this work was set in the framework of separateness and was guided by rules set up by a white world.

Dr. Jones, speaking at an Atlanta conference of Negro student leaders last month, said the Negro lives in a world in which he is "discouraged from sharing the thought forms, the aspirations and beliefs of the society in which he lives." He must "accept wholeheartedly some goals, partially some, be denied some and have some specifically set up for him." The ordinary Negro was thought of as helpless, and Negro leaders interceded for him with the powers that be. In exchange for not asking too much the Negro got some things.

BUT THE NEW leadership, the new Movement, which has a program and is not just a protest, denies the contention that dissidence is the prerogative of only a few radical Negroes. As a result of nonviolent mass-action, Dr. Jones said, whites have been shaken up, but gentlemen of color in positions of power are perhaps more 'shook up'."

The past is the backdrop against which the new Movement acts. Within the Movement there is a search for intelligent, dynamic and incorruptible leadership. There is great respect among the students for adult leaders who call for action and who act, but there is little for the "black bourgeoisie," the "gentlemen of color" who are beholden to whites for their positions or who have an economic stake in segregation. As one student leader put it: the Movement must **move.**

The times produced one leader, already a far-reaching symbol of the Negro struggle, who will probably become the figure around whom the Movement, both student and adult, will gather and unify. He is Martin Luther King Jr., the young minister who came out of the 1955 Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott with a worldwide reputation, preaching an old philosophy newly adopted by the American Negro. If the application of this philosophy of nonviolence was new to the Negro struggle, so was the emphasis on action.

AS A PROPONENT OF ACTION Martin Luther King has earned much student respect. Many Negro leaders stand in awe of the students' power. They are still a little afraid of it. But Dr. King is part of it. In an interview with the GUARDIAN in Atlanta Oct. 18 he said: "The Movement will continue. We are determined to break down the barriers of segregation wherever they exist." He pointed to the problem of leadership and gave Atlanta as an example: "There are about 15 leaders here with various methods of work. Some are 'accommodating' Negroes, some are actionists with ego problems. There is a large middle-class—people involved in a status-seeking life. They prefer negotiations."

Neither the students nor Dr. King deny the value of negotiations but Dr. King said: "The Movement's aim is to upset the power structure. We could have talked to them a long time about desegregation, but the impact of the sit-ins has done more than talking could."

The pattern the Movement has established seems to be: demonstrations, negotiations, economic boycott. Dr. King said: "We definitely must place our main emphasis on mass action. The Movement will lose some of its momentum, drama and prestige, if we don't.

"The Movement is a drama taking place on the stage of the world," Dr. King said. "Gains have been made because of the rolling tide of world opinion. The Negro has gained a determination of spirit from the determination of Africa and African peoples. Longing for freedom and human dignity is part of a worldwide struggle."

THOUGH DR. KING IS THE MOVEMENT'S SYMBOL and perhaps its unifying force, there are local leaders in every protest area, one or two students and one or more adults. Much of the old Negro leadership has not yet adjusted to the explosive force of mass action, some are giving quiet support; others are pleased, but not yet ready to act. The students say there is room for all in the Movement—all except the accommodator. The "crisis in leadership," they say, is not a crisis, it is only change—change which has radicalized middle-class ideals to such an extent that jail-going is respectable—even honorable. The day after our talk Dr. King and over 70 Atlanta students went to jail; Georgia was deluged with protests and 60 Negro leaders met with Atlanta's Mayor Hartsfield to resolve the segregation problem. As one-old time leader, now an active supporter of the new Movement, said: "It's shaking some cobwebs out of some people's heads."

—Joanne Grant